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West Europe Report

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THOUSANDS MARCH IN COPENHAGEN TO PROTEST DEPLOYMENT

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 31 Oct 83 p 24

[Article by Nils-Chr. Nilson: "More Time Demanded For Geneva in Denmark"]

[Text] Copenhagen--Three Danish handball players announced last week before a match that they will oppose the deployment of new American Euro-missiles in Europe. The players received an immediate warning from the Handball League.

The league's directors were dumbfounded: They were not accustomed to the fact that handball players have political opinions. The missile question has now, however, opened even the otherwise tightly closed curtain between sports and politics.

"It is presumed that our players will appear in advertisements for many commercial products without any expression of amazement on the part of others, but if we ourselves want to say something on behalf of peace, we are considered to be crazy," bitterly states Carsten Haurum, a representative of the handball players.

The expression of opinion by handball players is a sign of how extensively the influence of the peace movement has grown in Denmark. Active Communists were always the initiators of the movement, but now the movement is so extensive that their influence in it has been significantly reduced. The Soviet Union's SS-20-missiles are also mentioned at each peace rally.

Social Democrats Change Their Mind

Anti-missile activity reached its climax on Saturday in demonstrations in various parts of Denmark. Nearly 100,000 demonstrators marched in Copenhagen alone. There were several Social Democrats among the speakers on Saturday.

It is the Social Democrats who have adopted a stricter attitude toward Euro-missiles. Anker Jorgensen's government at one time approved NATO's dual decision, in which it was decided to deploy missiles in the event that negotiations do not produce any results by the end of 1983.

During the Social Democratic government's term in office Denmark paid the first installment of that sum corresponding to 24 million markkaa which was determined in NATO as Denmark's share of the expenditures for the missile project.

Now that they are in opposition the Social Democrats have become more suspicious and have prevented the government's attempts to make the final payments on the missile project. Anker Jorgensen has himself become a key figure among those Social Democrats opposing nuclear weapons with his emotional positions.

Last May the Social Democrats pushed through a decision in parliament according to which the rightwing minority government was obligated to promote the postponement of the deployment of missiles.

The decision could have even caused the government to fall, but SDP foreign policy leader Lasse Budtz interpreted it "to contain a dual decision" so that the government could continue in office in spite of its defeat in parliament.

Foreign policy experts, however, have difficulties in understanding how Denmark can support a dual decision if at the same time it is required to demand the continuation of negotiations after the end of this year also and the nondeployment of missiles. Moreover, Denmark also approves the Soviet demand that English and French nuclear weapons be taken into consideration in the negotiations.

Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen says that the government has adhered precisely to the parliamentary decision adopted in May. However, he has also emphasized to Denmark's allies that the government is not unanimous on the practical interpretation of the decision.

On Thursday the Social Democrats announced that they are demanding that Denmark should adopt a stricter stand on the deployment of missiles in spite of the fact that the first missiles will arrive in West Germany in 3 weeks.

10576

CSO: 3617/36

SKDL AGAIN DEMANDS GOVERNMENT MOVE TO END GENEVA STALEMATE

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 31 Oct 83 p 24

[Article: "Government Urged to Influence Geneva Deadlock"]

[Text] The SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] is urging the Finnish Government to take an immediate initiative for breaking the stalemate in the Geneva negotiations. The SKDL Executive Committee is also urging other neutral and non-aligned countries in Europe to seek solutions on the basis of the proposals made in the negotiations.

According to the SKDL view, the finding of a solution in Geneva depends on the United States and the European allies serving its interests.

The SKDL Executive Committee urges the United States and the Soviet Union to refrain from the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe and to continue the negotiations in Geneva until results are achieved. In its statement on Sunday the Executive Committee appealed to the NATO-countries which are to be the recipients of nuclear weapons in particular so that they would refuse to accept new nuclear weapons.

In its domestic policy stand the SKDL Executive Committee instructs the party's parliamentary faction with respect to the negotiations being conducted under the direction of Finance Minister Ahti Pekkala (Center Party). The Executive Committee will continue to hold to the budget demands previously presented by the People's Democrats.

These demands include, among other things, the retention of state subsidies and revenue sharing for the municipalities at the previous level, the continuation of a cost-of-living increase twice a year for people on pensions, the enactment of school legislation in accordance with the schedule determined by parliament as well as a revision of the tax schedules in a manner favorable to low- and medium-income people.

The Executive Committee also approved an extensive municipal policy document, in which the SKDL's most important goals are established for the 1984 municipal elections.

10576

CSO: 3617/36

ARMED FORCES, MINISTER, NEWSPAPERS VIEW CRUISE MISSILE THREAT

Colonel: Subs in Norwegian Sea Important

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 27 Nov 83 p 8

[Article by Erik Appel]

[Text] Cruise missiles represent a new threat to our air space and it would be unpardonable if we failed to develop our defense capabilities with these missiles in mind, according to Lt Col Gustav Hagglund of the central military staff.

In a situation where the major powers are fighting for their lives, we could not count on them to keep their promise not to use our air space if they believe it is necessary.

But Lieutenant Colonel Hagglund does not believe that the threat will come from the cruise missiles deployed on the continent and in England, but rather from air and sea-based missiles in the Norwegian Sea and possibly in the Barents Sea.

But even here it is improbable that they will pass over Finnish territory. It is more advantageous to move northward, under the protection of the mountainous Kolen region and then launch a direct attack on Murmansk and the Kola Peninsula.

If they come, we will try to destroy as many as possible. But they are difficult to detect and track, since they fly so low.

If we manage to shoot down some of them, this will cause no nuclear explosions, according to Lieutenant Colonel Hagglund. They are programmed with respect to the terrain and are not "set off" if shot at on the way to their targets.

When they reach their goal, however, there is no silo and no shelter in the world that they will not destroy.

Actually, there is no fundamental difference between cruise missiles and, for example, airplanes equipped with ballistic missiles, according to Lieutenant Colonel Hagglund. But, of course, they represent a new threat

to our air space. There has been so much commotion about them because they are part of the Euromissile issue, which is a political as well as a military strategic question.

The cruise missiles are so-called second-strike weapons. They are too slow (the flight time from Greenham Common in England to, for example, Murmansk is 4 hours) to be used as first-strike weapons, which must be capable of a surprise attack. Among the so-called Euromissiles is the Pershing II which is designed for this purpose, with a flight time of 10 to 12 minutes to the most remote target (possibly Moscow).

Thus, the cruise missiles would be used at a stage in which nuclear war was already underway.

Massive Attack

Lieutenant Colonel Hagglund stated that our air defense would face an enormous task if cruise missiles were used. It is inconceivable that individual missiles, one by one or two by two, would be used. Instead, there would be a massive attack. If air defenses could conceivably take out 15 or 20, then perhaps 200 to 400 missiles would be used to saturate the air and penetrate our air defense system.

Cruise missiles also are extremely problematic from an air defense standpoint. They are difficult to detect and track because they fly so low. Radar operates like the human eye. If the missile disappears behind a hill, then it also disappears from the radar screen.

Operations are now conducted by radar. In darkness and fog, for example, it is the supreme command that gives orders as to when and in what direction a fighter, for example, should fire its missiles. If the target disappears from the radar screen, then the pilot is helpless.

In addition, cruise missiles are relatively small and are equipped with a "fan motor" which cools the exhaust gases. This means that defensive missiles with infrared or heat-seeking devices cannot stop them.

New, Better Models

The cruise missiles now being installed are already outdated, since production of them has stopped, according to Lieutenant Colonel Hagglund.

Originally, 4,000 airborne and 4,000 sea-based cruise missiles were ordered, but production ceased after about 1,700 were produced.

"This probably means that new and improved models already have been developed, perhaps made of material that is less readily detected by radar and with the ability to put on a 'final spurt' at supersonic speeds, in order to penetrate air defense systems more readily."

Thus, it is a horrible weapon, even though it is a second-strike weapon.

Military Target Weapon

The Soviet Union seems to view the cruise missiles, at least in part, as first-strike weapons that could be used during the initial stage of a war.

"That is true, but I believe the controversy results in a difference in terminology. The Soviets do not mean the same thing as the Americans. According to the American terminology, first strike is a surprise attack that takes out the opponent's nuclear weapons. The Soviet term refers to what the Americans call military target strategy, i.e. the use of nuclear weapons against concrete military targets. In this case, I agree with the Russians that the cruise missiles are suitable for this purpose, since they are extremely accurate. They strike their targets with an accuracy of 50 to 100 meters. No silo can stand up to them. It is impossible to go deep enough into the ground to be protected from a hit by one of these 150 kiloton warheads. Thus, it is a typical weapon for military targets that can be used against missile positions, silos, command posts, and similar targets."

Danger Exists

We asked Hagglund if there was a real danger that cruise missiles could pass over Finland.

"This danger exists, of course. Even though NATO has assured us that it does not need to use Finnish air space, but we do not know if this promise would be kept if the two superpowers were fighting for their lives. In this situation, we do not know whether or not they would respect a neutral region between them. In any case, we cannot base our military planning on the assumption that our region would be an exception and that it would be sacrosanct in this respect."

"I have stressed, however, that it is more likely that cruise missiles deployed on warships and in planes in the Norwegian Sea and possibly in the Barents Sea would be used."

"I believe this would be much more natural than launching the so-called Euro-missiles from England or Germany, not to mention Italy, across the Baltic Sea toward the Kola Peninsula."

"The Leningrad region, on the other hand, could be a target for the missiles that are deployed in England. In this case, they would pass over a small portion of our southern coast."

Under Protection Of Kolen

Lieutenant Colonel Hagglund does not believe it is likely that the cruise missiles will cross the Kolen region, northern Sweden, and northern Finland. This is not because Kolen nor the flat Osterbotten landscape (the missile

requires a hilly landscape to take its bearings) present any obstacles, but because it is more advantageous to keep the missiles over one's own territory as long as possible and, under the protection of the Kolen region, to choose the shortest distance to the enemy's territory.

For this reason, Lieutenant Colonel Hagglund believes it is more likely that the missiles would swing up along the Kolen region and then turn directly toward Murmansk and the Kola Peninsula.

No Danger Of Nuclear Explosion

What would happen if we brought down a cruise missile over our territory?

"There would be no nuclear explosion, in any case," Lieutenant Colonel Hagglund assured us. "We are quite certain of this because the technology used in them makes this virtually impossible. The second generation of missiles differs from the previous generation in that the newer missiles can update their course with respect to certain points in the terrain."

"They must pass all these points and the 'safety' is taken off only after the last checkpoint before the target. They have no safety, pin, or similar device that could be released if the missile were shot down before the last checkpoint is reached. If they are shot down, they do not explode. They could crack or begin to burn, however, and this causes some radioactive fallout that must be dealt with, but this can in no way be compared to an explosion."

Defense Beefed Up

How are these missiles shot down?

"With ordinary antiaircraft weapons, fighter planes, and missiles. We have all kinds. But we do not know how effective they are, since we have no experience. According to our information, the biggest problem is to locate the missiles and track them, once they have been detected. As I said before, this is vital to combatting them."

We asked Hagglund if the missiles could be diverted--for example, tricked into flying over the Arctic Ocean.

"No, my understanding is that this is practically impossible, since they detect terrain formations."

Are we beefing up our defenses to deal with this new threat?

"It would be unpardonable if we did not. Right now we are modernizing our low-altitude radar. This process should be completed within 2 or 3 years."

It is a Finnish-built system. This is important, since electronics is everything in today's defense. It also is a great advantage that we are not dependent on the technology of another country. The manufacturer is

Nokia.

"In recent years, we also have purchased some artillery and small missiles."

'WAC In A Tower'

In an emergency situation, visual surveillance of the old "WAC in a tower" type is used in addition to radar. We are one of the few countries in the world that still use this old system, Hagglund pointed out. Visual and auditory observations are an important complement to radar surveillance.

"It is obvious, however, that our possibilities are limited. We also must remember that these missiles were developed for the purpose of making it difficult to defend against them."

Do you believe these questions will be discussed when Foreign Minister Vayrynen visits Moscow?

"Of course, that is a political rather than a military question. But I would be surprised if it were not discussed. Why would the missiles not be discussed with Gromyko when there were discussed with Genscher? In general, the Euro-missiles are more a political than a military issue."

Misunderstanding

Will the cruise missiles have an impact on our neutrality, considering what General Tatarnikov said about the cruise missiles and Swedish neutrality?

"Of course, he did not mention Finland and, in addition, I believe his statement was misunderstood. As far as I can tell, his statement may be interpreted as saying that Sweden cannot shirk its responsibility of combatting cruise missiles that violate Swedish air space, for example, on the way to Leningrad or Murmansk."

The Strategic Balance

In the Geneva negotiations, the Pershing II's have been the key issue. They are target-seeking ballistic missiles with a high degree of accuracy and a short flight time.

The point is that intermediate range missiles have a different meaning to the Soviet Union than to the United States, according to Lieutenant Colonel Hagglund. The American missiles can reach deep into Soviet territory, while the Soviet missiles in Europe cannot reach the United States. The American missiles affect the strategic balance, while the Soviet missiles do not. For this reason, among others, it would be natural to include the intermediate range missiles in the negotiations over strategic weapons, the so-called Start Negotiations, according to Lieutenant Colonel Hagglund.

That could be a way out of the impasse in Geneva.

It seems that important principles were at stake in the negotiations on intermediate range missiles. How could the Soviet Union allow the doors to be opened to Europe, perhaps to Turkey and Japan, for intermediate range missiles and, at the same time, negotiate a reduction in strategic nuclear weapons? That would put them in an unfavorable position. From this standpoint, too, combined negotiations seem justified, according to Hagglund.

Is it not slightly naive of the major powers to sit back and count what the other side has and what they themselves do not have, when both sides have more than enough to destroy the other?

"Of course it is. But this is because, even after a surprise attack, each side wants to have enough left over to destroy its opponent. Only the super-powers have this capacity. China, for example, will not be a serious consideration for some time to come."

Russian Cruise Missiles

The Soviet Union has now broken off the negotiations in Geneva and threatened countermeasures, i.e. threatened to put the United States in the same position as the Soviet Union, with respect to intermediate range missiles. How will that occur?

"In some way, they must deploy intermediate range missiles capable of reaching the territory of the United States. Theoretically, there are three ways of doing this, one of which the Soviets have chosen, according to our most recent reports: land-based missiles in the Far East, missiles based on submarines or surface vessels that can sail near the coasts of the United States, or the third alternative of land-based missiles in the Western Hemisphere. All three alternatives have major drawbacks. Missiles from the Far East could reach only a small section of the northwestern United States--certainly no farther than San Francisco."

"Ship-based missiles, as Andropov pointed out, would require operations far from bases in the Soviet Union and they are highly vulnerable to countermeasures by the Americans in case of a crisis. With regard to land bases in the Western Hemisphere, the United States is in a high state of alert, as we have seen."

"According to Western sources, the Soviet Union has its own cruise missiles, which are comparable to those now being deployed by the United States. They have an estimated range of 3,000 kilometers and can be mounted on submarines and surface vessels. It may be assumed that these missiles are included in the planned countermeasures," Lieutenant Colonel Hagglund said.

Qualitative Change But No New Situation

There is not a fundamentally new situation, there has simply been a qualitative change, Dr Pauli Jarvenpaa said of the situation that has arisen after the deployment of cruise missiles.

He is optimistic that the tension will be reduced and the United States and the Soviet Union will return to the negotiating table.

The best alternative today is for the major powers to be familiar with the weapons and the intentions of the other side, to eliminate the possibility of mistakes as much as possible, and for both sides to have weapons systems that are invulnerable as possible.

Dr Jarvenpaa would not rule out the possibility of a limited nuclear war, for example in the form of a "demonstration" to prevent or stop a conventional attack.

Dr Jarvenpaa is a special researcher at the Defense Ministry. He specializes in international issues and their impact on Finland.

Optimist Despite Everything

When asked about the significance of the breakdown in the Geneva negotiations, he answers that he is ultimately an optimist, despite everything. He believes that after the initial deployment of Euromissiles, there will be a pause of several months, during which both sides will examine the situation.

"It is obvious that the West must make concessions. This has been clear for some time. The Soviet Union, for its part, has attempted to prevent the Euromissiles from being deployed. These efforts have been unsuccessful. Now there is a new situation."

Linking the negotiations on intermediate range missiles with the Start negotiations would be an elegant political solution, but it would not solve the problem, according to Dr Jarvenpaa.

"Hinge Situation"

"For our part, the cruise missiles have not actually created a revolutionary new situation. The situation has merely changed qualitatively. Ever since the fifties it has been possible to violate neutral air space with aircraft. Then the problem was manned planes. Now we must deal with unmanned missiles."

"We are in a kind of 'hinge situation' between the alliances of the superpowers. We are in jeopardy of having our air space violated, regardless of the missiles."

Are there any signs that the Soviet Union will tighten its grip, now that the Geneva negotiations have failed?

"No, there are no serious signs of this kind."

Both Tactical And Strategic

Is it fair to say that the overall strategic situation has been changed by the Euromissiles?

"From the Soviet standpoint--yes. The Euromissiles are capable of reaching strategic Soviet targets and, thus, from the Soviet standpoint they are not tactical or theater weapons."

"On the other hand, however, if NATO security is seen as being indivisible, with no distinction between Western Europe and the United States, so that an attack on Hamburg, for example, is an attack on Washington, then the Soviet SS-20 missiles also are strategic weapons."

Why did the Soviet Union deploy new intermediate range missiles in recent years?

"There is a very simple explanation that has been made in the West," Dr Jarvenpaa said.

"They simply made an intermediate range missile--the SS-20--out of an unsuccessful intercontinental missile--the SS-16--so that the scientific and technical effort involved in developing the latter would not be wasted. Thus, the main reasons were technological and bureaucratic in nature."

"The question is, however, why so many were deployed despite NATO's dual decision. If the Soviet Union had played its cards differently, the NATO may not have been able to pull off its dual decision--if, for example, the Soviet Union had remained at its 1979/1980 level of 180 SS-20 missiles, compared to the 360 to 370 it now has deployed (Dr Jarvenpaa pointed out here that he was using Western figures). Similarly, we might ask whether NATO would have made its dual decision if it had realized the political consequences."

Does the failure of the Geneva negotiations mean that a new balance must be found at a higher level of armaments?

"Yes, but only at a slightly higher level--not an extremely higher level, since old systems are being dismantled." Dr Jarvenpaa stressed in this connection that there need not be an absolute quantitative balance. Previously a political balance has been achieved in the absence of an absolute quantitative balance.

Political Weapons That Prevent War

Nuclear weapons, more than any others, are political weapons. They actually are not intended to be used.

"It is true that they are political weapons, but they are not so political that an opponent can be sure they will not be used in a certain situation. This

is the basis for their deterrent effect. But it is fair to say that what happened at Alamogordo in 1945 changed the situation completely. It is no overstatement to say that a weapon has made war between the superpowers impossible in areas where their vital interests are at stake. Nuclear weapons are an effective check in these situations."

But is there not a danger of mistakes?

"Mistakes could occur, of course, but that is highly improbable. But even if a mechanical error should occur, we must have confidence that this will not be the spark that ignites the powder keg, but that the superpowers still have the situation under control."

You have written about the possibility of a limited nuclear war. How do you view this possibility today?

Limited War And First Use

"All countries that have nuclear weapons still can choose whether to use them in a limited or unlimited manner. This depends on the situation, but there are no guarantees that a limited nuclear war will not develop into a full-scale war. But it must be in the interest of everyone to limit any war, whether it be fought with conventional or nuclear weapons."

"For this reason, I do not rule out the possibility of a limited nuclear war. Of course, the first-strike theory means an immediate full-scale nuclear war, but that is only one possibility among others. It is not the basis of nuclear strategy."

"It is conceivable that a conventional attack, for example, could be prevented or stopped (according to Western thinking) by the 'demonstration' of a nuclear weapon (for example over unpopulated regions) to show the aggressor that you mean business."

"This is an example of what is called first use."

The Worst And The Best World

But it is often said that "offense is the best defense" or "it is best to shoot first and ask questions later."

"This is a real danger. This represents the worst of all possible worlds, where the two sides are unfamiliar with each other's weapons and intentions, have poor control over their nuclear weapons, and have nuclear weapons that are vulnerable."

"In the best of all possible worlds, we have today's situation in which the two sides have well functioning communications systems in which they can follow what the other side is doing and try to eliminate the possibility of a mistake."

"Another important aspect is that we have weapons systems that are as

invulnerable as possible. This is the case, for example, with the cruise missiles. This is the situation that is desired by the major powers. Of course, it is possible that technological developments could lead to unbalanced situations."

Vayrynen on 'Zone', Cruise Missiles

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 27 Nov 83 p 3

[Article: "Pesala Wrong on Nordic Zone"]

[Text] Second vice-chairman of parliament Mikko Pesala is wrong in his assessment of the consequences of weapons technology on plans for a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries. Pesala has made statements that are in direct contradiction to our country's official policy.

This was stated by the Center Party chairman, Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen, on Saturday at a meeting of party delegates in Kemi. Vayrynen described as "strange" statements by his fellow party member Pesala to the effect that the entry of cruise missiles onto the military arena rendered useless any further talk of a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries.

Vayrynen pointed out that President Urho Kekkonen expressly proceeded from the new developments in weapons technology in 1978 when he expanded his old plan for a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries.

Vayrynen appeared at a press conference on Saturday. In his opening speech at the meeting of party delegates, he limited his remarks to emphasizing the responsibility people in official positions have for foreign policy.

In his opening speech, he criticized those who have stated openly that the term "Paasikivi-Kekkonen policy" should no longer be used in reference to our foreign policy and should not be altered in any way.

Actually, no one is out to alter our foreign policy, but in practice it is easy for misunderstandings to occur if we do not choose our words carefully, according to Vayrynen.

Roundup on Cruise Missile Debate

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 30 Nov 83 p 2

[Article: "Today's Discussion"]

[Text] An intense debate over the cruise missiles and the nuclear-free zone is underway, sparked by statements from vice-chairman Mikko Pesala to the effect that the concept of a nuclear-free zone could now be buried, since NATO has begun deployment of its new missiles in Western Europe. Pesala made his ideas known in an interview. He also maintained that, unlike NATO, the Soviet Union was prepared to guarantee that Nordic air space would not be violated by

Soviet nuclear weapons. Pesala's views on the zone issue were criticized by Social Democratic Party secretary Erkki Liikanen and Prof Raimo Vayrynen, who is an expert on security policy problems.

Pesala Stands Firm

In an interview with the Center Party newspaper SUOMENMAA the second vice-chairman of parliament, Mikko Pesala, stood firm in his conviction that the arrival of cruise missiles in Europe put an end to the idea of a nuclear-free zone in Europe.

"The current deployment of NATO missiles has changed the security situation in the Nordic countries. A new discussion must now begin on how to remove these missiles, which are a threat to the Nordic countries."

"The Americans are now deploying missiles whose flight paths pass over the Nordic countries. We must now begin to think about what we will do."

"As long as NATO gives no guarantee that Nordic air space will not be used for missile flight paths, there will be no nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries. The Soviet Union is prepared to offer such guarantees."

"Back in 1979 NATO decided to deploy the missiles. During the subsequent 4 years NATO has offered no guarantee concerning freedom from nuclear weapons in the Nordic countries. Why has NATO not done this?"

"Finland must not be caught napping."

Pesala Making Fuss

In an article in ETEENPAIN Prof Raimo Vayrynen, an expert on security policy and disarmament problems, wrote on the new cruise missiles and the nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries. He said that Mikko Pesala was making a big fuss and exaggerating in his conclusions on the threat posed by the cruise missiles.

"First of all, Pesala is forgetting that the cruise missiles deployed in Western Europe would hardly pass through Finnish air space. It would have made more sense to concentrate on the mobile cruise missiles located in the North Atlantic. Finland should have a limited capacity to combat cruise missiles, but this should occur without increased defense spending."

"Pesala's statement that it has become impossible to establish a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries is especially problematic. In no way do the cruise missiles in Western Europe, which in themselves are undesirable, justify this conclusion. Instead, the deployment of new weapons technology in the vicinity of the Nordic countries emphasizes the need for a nuclear-free zone and for effective guarantees from the nuclear powers that nuclear weapons will not be used."

Military Spending Should Not Increase

Social Democratic Party secretary Erkki Liikanen also was surprised by vice-chairman Mikko Pesala. Liikanen spoke at a meeting of the Paasikivi Society in Jyvaskyla last Monday. In this speech, which was described in KESKISUOMALAINEN, Liikanen discussed the problem of how the cruise missiles should be combatted.

"The foreign minister has stated that surveillance in our air space should be made more effective. But the TV newsman who interviewed him neglected to ask whether our antiaircraft system should be made more effective. If so, the cost would be extremely high. Setting the level of military spending is an extremely difficult task. If the size of the national budget remains the same, then we must decide what we will do without in order to pay for the additional military expenditures. Personally, I believe that the percentage of state expenditures allocated to the military will remain at approximately the present level."

Pesala And Responsibility

Jukka Knuutti commented on vice-chairman Mikko Pesala's views in a column on the editorial page of UUSI SUOMI.

"It is totally understandable that Pesala's knowledge of cruise missiles is deficient. As a result, we may forgive him for his faulty thinking. But every member of parliament should consider the nuclear-free Nordic zone, which Finland has advocated for 20 years, to be so important that it cannot simply be dismissed by one man in an interview."

"As a result, it was not unexpected when chairman Vayrynen took issue with Pesala last weekend and emphasized that the new cruise missiles that are launched from aircraft and submarines make a nuclear-free Nordic zone more important than ever before. Vayrynen also stressed that this was the party position, which also was confirmed in a resolution approved by the party leadership."

"But Pesala, as we know, is a stubborn man and he did not stop there. On Sunday he repeated on television that a nuclear-free Nordic zone had simply become a utopian idea and that we should stop talking about it. If this is interpreted as being contrary to our country's foreign policy, then of course I have the right to interpret his conclusion as approval of the Euromissiles. It is easy to agree with the foreign minister that Pesala's ideas are unusual, incorrect, and contrary to our foreign policy."

"If recent articles in certain newspapers on foreign policy have left something to be desired, then what can we say about the nonsense vice-chairman Pesala has been talking?"

Vayrynen As Zone Therapist

In his comments on Mikko Pesala's opinions Bo Stenstrom, editor in chief of ABO UNDERRATTELSE said the following:

"If Pesala really is familiar with the problem he must realize by now the political value a nuclear-free zone would have for the entire Nordic region. Especially now, in times of peace, it would be a measure that would boost confidence and reduce tension. It would reduce the danger that Nordic air space would be used by missiles from other countries. It also would reduce the arms buildup in the Arctic North."

"It seems, however, that opponents of the zone can think only in terms of war. Their problem is that they fail to realize that foreign and defense policy are inseparable."

"Kekkonen based his ideas on logical building blocks. Nevertheless, they seem to have become a kind of litany--even for a Center Party member such as the vice-chairman."

"Vayrynen now must act as a zone therapist!"

9336

CSO: 3650/64

BRUNDTLAND HOPING FOR DEFECTORS FROM COALITION ON MISSILES

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 5 Nov 83 p 7

[Article by Pal Nordenborg: "Gro on Arms Reduction: Wide Support Next Spring"]

[Text] "There is obviously much wider support in Parliament for a number of issues dealing with security and arms reduction policies than was indicated by the missile debate today," Gro Harlem Brundtland, Labor Party chairman, told ARBEIDERBLADET.

She said: "Today the Christian People's Party (KRF) and the Center Party (SP) are obligated to secure a parliamentary majority vote for the government on the missile proposal. As long as this agreement exists, freedom of action is now limited to the middle parties."

Brundtland pointed out that Parliament is now split in two. But, having dealt with the missile issue this fall, Parliament is again free to seek the widest possible support for long-term principal guidelines on security and relaxation-of-tension policies. In particular, she expressed the hope that KRF and SP would take a well-defined position on the nuclear arms freeze.

"If KRF and SP decide to pursue their own arms reduction programs next spring, that would be a decisive step away from the present two-way split in Norwegian politics on this important issue. The Conservative Party is also welcome to help create the widest possible support for the positions held by Parliament," said Brundtland.

Debate Next Spring

Gro Harlem Brundtland chairs the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee appointed to deal with the government's report on security and arms reduction. The committee has now decided to postpone dealing with this report submitted by the government 18 months ago until spring.

In response to the question why the committee opted for postponement, Brundtland answered: "Because all of the parties represented on the committee felt that this important issue could easily have been forced into the background this fall by the missile debate. We felt it would be unfortunate to discuss

relaxation-of-tension and security policy as a whole based on the polarized and tense situation in Parliament at this time. It was the committee's joint opinion that the entire arms reduction strategy, initiatives to inspire confidence, arms control, and efforts on the part of the United Nations, to mention a few, should not be placed in the shadow of the missile debate."

She said that as far as the Labor Party was concerned, Parliament could easily have dealt with the government's arms reduction report at the end of the spring session this year, but then came the hectic government negotiations, which made it desirable to postpone the matter. Parliament could not realistically have considered the report earlier in the spring because at that time all of the parties, except the Conservative Party, were involved in their own internal security policy debates, according to Brundtland. Gro Harlem Brundtland said that the Labor Party had not considered a proposal similar to that of the Social Democratic Party in Denmark, which was supported by a parliamentary majority yesterday and which asks the Danish Government to arrange a special meeting of NATO cabinet ministers before 22 November.

"But the policies of the Labor Party and the Danish Social Democratic Party are similar in content," she said.

According to the Labor Party chairman, the party will not be able to complete a tentative proposal to be voted on in Parliament 21 November until the day before. By that time, the Labor Party will have concluded its national congress and the SPD congress, scheduled for 18 and 19 November, will also be over.

Missiles will be on the Central Committee's agenda next Monday and the same issue will later be discussed by the Labor Party as a whole.

"As far as we are concerned, the positions are clear," said Brundtland. "If there can be no agreement in Geneva at this time, we support continued negotiations without deployment of missiles while the talks are in progress. Furthermore, INF and START negotiations should be combined.

"We also believe that there is the basis for an interim agreement at this time," she said.

8952

CSO: 3639/32

CONSERVATIVES, SOCIALISTS IN NEAR CONCORD ON ARMS POLICIES

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 25 Nov 83 p 9

[Article by Elisabeth Crona: "'Concord on Security Policy;' Conservatives and Social Democrats in Agreement on Foreign Affairs Committee"]

[Text] "This shows that despite all there is basically extensive agreement on the security policy," says the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Stig Alemyr (Social Democrat). "There is something of a return to a consensus," in Carl Bildt's (Conservative) opinion.

What they are commenting on is the memorandum of the Foreign Affairs Committee on disarmament. This was completed on Thursday and includes unanimous passages on a few of the points of controversy this year between Conservatives and Social Democrats.

The committee's memoranda are usually in agreement, but in view of the tough debates that have been fought, a different outcome might have been natural this fall.

"There were no decisive difficulties in reaching unanimity," Carl Bildt says. "Efforts were made on both sides to confirm what we agree on. That is why we discussed the wording--with satisfactory results."

"We did a good job with our agreement," says Stig Alemyr. "On the part of the Social Democrats we did not give up anything. We made an effort to respond to motions with bills rather than to reject them. The Conservatives did not seek any fights."

When speaking of the consensus on security policy Carl Bildt added that he would like to see a return to the "Sven Andersson-Unden line." The present intensified security-political situation demands more of both clarity and restraint in the statements by the Social Democratic government, he says.

The controversial portions of the memorandum, on which there is now consensus, deal chiefly with the debate about peace and freedom and the nuclear-free zone in the Nordic area.

Central Component

The Conservative motion which states, among other things, that working for the freedom of Eastern Europe must be a central component in the effort to create lasting peace in Europe, is responded to in the following manner:

"There is, of course, a relationship between oppression and injustices in all countries on the one hand, and the risk of war on the other. Working for freedom from oppression and injustices in every country is also work which increases the chances for a lasting peace."

"For that reason as well Sweden is therefore justified in continuing to work for human rights and the freedom of all peoples. However, this work should not be made a prerequisite for the arms control work."

More Active Preparations

As for the zone question, a unanimous committee says that Palme's speech to the Paasikivi Society reflects the guidelines of Parliament.

On the issue of a freeze and no-first-use of nuclear weapons, the Conservatives say in a special statement of opinion that they do not share the government's view.

The VPK [Left Party-Communists] wants to have more active preparation work for a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries.

11949

CSO: 3650/67

PEACE MOVEMENT EXPERIENCING LARGE GROWTH IN MEMBERSHIP

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 31 Oct 83 p 24

[Article by Vesa Santavuori: "Peace Movement Following Government Policy"]

[Text] The peace movement in Sweden has clearly become stronger since the NATO-countries made their Euro-missile decision in the fall of 1979. This strengthened status is seen in the membership growth of peace organizations as well as in the increased participation in peace demonstrations.

This was the assessment of Rainer Santi of the Swedish Peace Association (Svenska Freds- och Skiljedomsforeningen or SFSF). He thinks that the number of people participating in demonstrations has doubled. Membership in the SFSF, on the other hand, is now approximately 10,000 as opposed to 2,617 when it was established in 1979.

"People are today beginning to comprehend with ever greater clarity what the threat of nuclear weapons means in practice. There is a greater fear of them," states Rainer Santi.

According to him, the incident regarding the Soviet U 137 submarine off the coast of Karlskrona in the fall of 1981 in itself also illustrated the threat of nuclear weapons. (Sweden officially declared that it confirmed the presence of nuclear weapons on the U 137).

The submarine incident also increased the membership of the SFSF. "During that week the organization grew by perhaps 1,000 additional new members or more than the usual," states Santi. On the other hand, opinion polls show that the submarine incidents have increased the defense will in Sweden.

The Swedish Peace Association, SFSF, which will be 100 years old this year, is in any event an association which is, indeed, attempting to dismantle nuclear weapons in the East as well as in the West.

The SFSF is in reality an intellectual association, which opposes militarism in all its forms. The "hierarchy" representing military systems is everywhere a dictatorship, from which we must extricate ourselves.

The existence of military systems feeds upon itself according to the SFSF. It is clear that when one concentrates only on how the opponent intends to destroy you and how you will destroy it, the result is an ever increasing spiral of horror, states Santi.

We must extricate ourselves from this spiral by providing people working in the weapons industry with something else to do and by directing arms production to something else that is more creative.

However, what is in question is a long process, of which the most realistic aspect is the freezing and reduction of the nuclear arms arsenal.

Politically the Swedish Peace Association SFSF is omnivorous in so far as it includes representatives of each parliamentary party.

In applying Sweden's neutral policy the organization has condemned the bad deeds of the East as well as of the West from Vietnam to Afghanistan.

The SFSF sees many good sides in the foreign policy of the Swedish Government (nuclear-free zones, among other things). "However, the military aspect of defense should be given less emphasis," states the demand of the organization.

There are also other peace movements in Sweden. The Christian peace movement separated from the SFSF 10 years and became an independent organization. This means that the Swedish Peace Association is thus now in addition to political parties also an organization independent of religions.

In addition, there are two women's peace organizations, one primarily domestic, the other operating under international auspices. The name of the domestic organization is "Kvinnor for fred" -- Women for Peace. It has 2,000 dues paying members.

A separate women's peace organization is needed "so that it could be possible to manage activities free of the direction of men", say the women. They emphasize that men are also included in their demonstrations and that as an organization they are politically nonaligned.

The Swedish Peace Committee, for its part, is tied to the World Peace Council. It has a membership of 2,000.

In its views the organization is considered to be following Moscow's line "although not as slavishly as its colleagues in Finland" according to a certain assessment in Stockholm.

The opposition in Sweden to Euro-missiles is also part of the official foreign policy of the Social Democratic minority government.

Sweden's position is that "not one single new nuclear weapon should be deployed". Thus Sweden has promoted the so-called freeze policy since the fall of 1982 during Prime Minister Palme's term in office.

According to the rightwing, the policy line of the Social Democratic government has been opposed to NATO and favorable to the Warsaw Pact since the Western alliance has shown the most preference toward deploying new nuclear weapons.

The government has, however, also demanded "the significant reduction of existing nuclear weapons systems as well as the achievement of a balance in the area of conventional weaponry".

The latter-mentioned statement also presents clear demands to the Warsaw Pact. When one takes into consideration that the Soviet Union has also been deploying the feared SS-20-missiles in its own areas and is now threatening to increase its armaments in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, then Sweden's official policy line does on the whole adhere to the basic framework of a neutral policy.

Peace researchers, of whom many have international recognition, reflect Swedish opinion more accurately than the government. The superpowers are taking advantage of the small countries and are pushing them down, states Nobel Prize winner Alva Myrdal.

In her opinion a desire for peace is in itself a somewhat "too happy" expression. "Rather there would be reason to talk about a living desire in all of us to avoid (destructive) chaos," she states.

With respect to opinions regarding war and peace in Sweden it is also interesting to note Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstrom's statement, according to which a Swedish soldier must refuse to obey his superiors if he is ordered to kill civilians.

10576

CSO: 3617/36

NEO-NAZI SCENE AFTER BAN ON LEADING ORGANIZATION

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 12 Dec 83 pp 31-32

[Article: "Enemy No 1--Minister of Interior Zimmermann Has Banned West Germany's Biggest Neo-Nazi Organization, but Experts on Extremism Think the Success of This Step Is Subject to Question"]

[Text] The fuehrer, Michael Kuehnen, 28, had a strong grip on his comrades. His written instructions abounded in "basic orders" and such leadership phrases as "I warn," "I forbid," "I will not hesitate." In case he should be arrested again, he even had told his people who should succeed him.

But things did not get that far. Last week, with their fuehrer still in charge, the whole front collapsed. The Federal Ministry of the Interior in Bonn banned Kuehnen's neo-Nazi umbrella movement, the Action Front of National Socialists/ National Activists (ANS/NA).

In order to "give an unmistakable signal," as Federal Minister of the Interior Friedrich Zimmermann put it, a large-scale raid against neo-Nazis was staged at 0630 hours last Wednesday [7 December] in nine Federal Laender. Swastika flags, Nazi brochures and files were confiscated everywhere. In Munich a blacklist of leftists was found, labeled "Enemy No 1." In Husum even the Julius Leber Barracks were searched, where a Nazi leader is doing his military service as a private first class, and a thousand Nazi leaflets were seized. While he was at it, Zimmermann also banned the ANS offshoots the German Politics Friendship Circle, a fund-raising office, and the Action for Sending Back Foreigners (AAR). The latter is a voters group fostered by ANS members which has already participated in the Hesse Landtag elections, obtaining 0.2 percent of the vote.

According to official estimates, this year alone neo-nazism has been responsible for 52 acts of violence, including arson, holdups and bodily injuries, and on this scene the ANS/NA, with 270 members was the biggest organization. It was founded by Michael Kuehnen early this year, soon after he had been released from imprisonment. A former Federal military college student and long active on the far right in North Germany, he had been sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment in 1979 for demagoguery and incitement to racial hatred.

After his release, Kuehnen tried to combine rightists groups, again colliding on several occasions with police and public prosecutors. For example, he and 14 of his disciples, including such Hesse ANS bigwigs as Arndt Heinz Marx (expelled from the movement meanwhile) and Thomas Brehl (chosen by Kuehnen as his successor), are to stand trial early next year at the Frankfurt Staatsschutzkammer [National Court for Protection of the State].

They are charged with various neo-Nazi offenses ranging from racist propaganda to bodily injury at the hands of Kangaroo court members. In the past Hitler admirer Kuehnen for a long time was in a position to count on being treated leniently. For instance, he definitely was permitted to receive visitors from among the scene in the high-security wing of the Celle penitentiary. Once he was even visited by Hamburg comrades who shortly thereafter organized the kangaroo court murder of a defector. (DER SPIEGEL No 19/1982)

In 1981 alone, Kuehnen wrote and received more than 1,000 letters each in his Celle cell. The persons he corresponded with mostly were people of like mind. One letter which even the head of the penitentiary had wanted to stop at one time was released again by the office supervising prison conditions. The bizarre justification was that whereas the letter "doubtless" contained "National Socialist ideas," there was no evidence that these ideas reviled or disparaged the constitutional order of the Federal Republic of Germany."

When Kuehnen was released late last year, the courts imposed conditions on him designed to keep him away from his old buddies, but this man, who is so fond of uniforms, held forth in the rightist underground nevertheless. He was not interfered with when he founded the ANS/NA on the occasion of neo-Nazi parade camouflaged as a "class meeting" in Frankfurt, marched through Hamburg with men in black uniform to distribute anti-foreigner leaflets and incited racial animosity in a grand coalition with "Skinheads" and soccer fans before the European championship game against Turkey in Berlin.

Whether Kuehnen rode armed to Austria ("Ostmark [Nazi designation of Austria] province") accompanied by ANS deputy head Brehl, whether he attacked missile opponents putting up posters at night, whether (the court ban against contacts notwithstanding) he showed up at the "Walhalla" of the Mainz militant gardener Kurt Mueller ("Mueller Nazi Group")--the law did not intervene.

Kuehnen busied himself in behalf of the "Deutscher Maedelbund" [German Girls League, evidently named after the Nazi girls association bearing a similar name] and planned the organization of ANS "operational cells." He sent fuehrer circulars to the ANS community and found time to plan a "march against the Feldherrnhalle" in Munich [the site of the unsuccessful Hitler putsch in 1923]. There was nothing that could be done about any of this, because either Kuehnen's Nazi activities (such as the founding of a party) were not expressly prohibited, or the infractions of instructions (such as the visit to Mueller-Mainz) were not subject to prosecution.

Land ministers of the interior such as Herbert Schnoor (SPD) in Duesseldorf and Heinz Eyrich (CDU) in Stuttgart reacted to this legal situation by demanding that the rightist legion be banned. When Zimmermann in Bonn finally became unwilling to continue to "stand idly by" and gave orders for action, experts on extremism voiced some criticism. Security personnel argued that so far rightist cadres had always been able to cope with bans of organizations. They simply would found new groups, go underground and, on top of that, gain in prestige as a result of the governmental action, thus possibly even being saved from imminent ruin. The Hamburg ZEIT commented: "What a success, despite everything, for this zero!"

Ernst Uhrlau, deputy head of the Hamburg Office for the Protection of the Constitution, deplors the fact that the ban deprives Kuehnen of "the opportunity to fail within the neo-Nazi scene." In fact, there was an increase in rivalries in Kuehnen's clique in the end, with the ANS chief deploring "human disappointments" in the scene--for example, in unsuccessfully begging for donations.

The ANS example has already shown that bans on the right fringe trigger only movements of migration from one association to another. Some of the Kuehnen supporters, including Arndt Heinz Marx, were first in the Hoffmann Military Sports Group, then, when it was banned, joined the People's Socialist Movement of Germany (VSBD) and then, when it too was banned, the ANS/NA.

Others detoured en route into the underground--for instance, student Odfried Hepp, who jointed the VSBD after guerrilla training in the Military Sports Group. Hepp has now been indicted for having taken part in a bomb attack on U.S. soldiers. His "wanted" circular (the award is DM 50,000) is posted in post offices and at border crossings next to the "wanted" photos of the latest dispersed RAF [Red Army Faction] personnel.

Notwithstanding Zimmermann's coup on Wednesday morning, neo-Nazi Kuehnen does not want to give up. No sooner had police once more hauled away his belongings from his quarters in Pinneberg than he was heard to say: "One cannot ban an idea; one cannot ban persons supporting that idea."

8790

CSO: 3620/115

HERRI BATASUNA LEADERS CONDONE ETA TERRORISM

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 27 Dec 83 p 15

[Text] Herri Batasuna leaders Jon Idigoras and Inaki Ruiz de Pinedo stated yesterday that "self-determination is the key to pacifying the Basque Country" and that "ETA activity can be considered legitimate since there are no democratic avenues." They then added, during a Ritz breakfast press conference, that "the Basque Country is at war and its goal is self-determination."

When asked about ETA violence and HB's failure to condemn it, Idigoras and Ruiz de Pinedo stated that "we will condemn any armed act against the civilian population but not those against the military, the Civil Guard or the police because we regard them as occupation forces. We always lament the deaths. But as long as there is indiscriminate repression, and liberties are suppressed; while State terrorism exists--like that of the police in France, that in Arregui--raising a hue and cry would only be hypocrisy."

Both men said that as for Basques who have deserted their homeland, "they were not as devoted as they should have been." They stated that "the Spanish Government is the one which has legitimized armed action" and added, "We admit that ETA's acts can be considered legitimate because the institutional avenues are closed through which a major part of the Basque people might seek recourse. What does exist is inadequate because there has been no self-determination."

Regarding the Spanish flag, they asserted that "it is the symbol of oppression. It is not our flag. The red and yellow flag is that of the monarchy. The flag of the Republicans is less offensive to us." They said that the five basic points of the KAS alternative are the foundation upon which any negotiations are to be based. They noted that "there had been contacts with the PSOE but these were broken off as the result of Benegas' statements on television. Now there is another socialist offer through a third party whose name we will not reveal so as not to jeopardize the demarche." They are sceptical with regard to the PSOE's role.

Regarding the view that they may be placing democracy in danger, they responded, "It is of no interest to us that there may be a coup d'etat in Spain because an armed uprising has occurred in the Basque Country. That line of thinking is admissible blackmail also used by the government to justify its economic policy."

GOL ON STEEL, TRADE UNIONS, IMMIGRATION POLICY

Brussels LE SOIR in French 1, 2 Dec 83

[Interview with Jean Gol by Guy Depas, Catherine Ferrant, M. Vandemeulebroucke, and Jacques van Solinge; date and place of interview not given]

[1 Dec 83 p 2: "Distrustful of the Flemish, Gol Extends His Hand to the Walloon Unions"]

[Text] Will there be a political consensus or not on the government agreement of 26 July? This agreement regulates the financing of the five national sectors and, therefore, the cost of restructuring the steel industry. It is now up to parliament. But even in the majority in parliament it seems that people are not necessarily saying the same thing they were in July. If an accident ruined Cockerill-Sambre's chances of survival, would it draw Martens V into the vicious circle of the crisis? Jean Gol wants to be reassuring; the pact was implicitly ratified by the four coalition parties at the time it was made, he says, and it cannot be called into question again. He emphasizes that the process may be lagging a bit, but the government cannot do anything about it. "It's not our fault," he says, "if the State Council has preferred to take the slow road and consult with parliament rather than move quickly on the special-powers route that was chosen in the first place. Two bills will soon be submitted that will alter neither the letter nor the spirit of the agreement: the majority in parliament ought to be consistent."

[Question] Consistent? No doubt. But politics is not necessarily consistent.

[Answer] Indeed, you can't assume anything. However, I warn those who would like to backslide. The compromise of 26 July is not an ideal system. The French-speaking Belgians have no reason to glory in it. It is the result of a trade-off, the best one possible, considering what is at stake.

[Question] Will you take up your pilgrim's staff to conquer those who seem to be lagging on the Flemish side?

[Answer] The government is united on the agreement of 26 July. This excludes the charges being leveled on both sides and stands despite the clash of regional interests that creates tensions even among ministers. But the principle of national unity has been accepted, and I do not feel it will be open to question again.

[Question] Within the government, perhaps. But might it not be brought up again somewhere else?

[Answer] Only in the government can effective compromises actually be made on social matters, because some goals have been set that are to be reached at the same time. Community councils will not reach compromises of this kind because they naturally pass by unanimous vote all sorts of the most radical measures. They do this even though their members in parliament--and here's the paradox--change their vote once they come around to supporting the government majority in the National Assembly. As for parliament, a willingness to compromise on regional questions can be found only when it comes down to supporting the government.

[Question] You are optimistic about the chances of obtaining a parliamentary majority. But there is a problem of time limits.

[Answer] The parliamentary process will be the quickest possible. We have done everything we can to ensure that.

[Question] But legally, Cockerill-Sambre must reestablish its assets before the end of December or propose dissolution to its shareholders.

[Answer] The company is not subject to prior legal action, because the government has unanimously decided to try to settle the financial problems by use of special powers. Nobody is liable for the resulting delay, so there is no reason to alter the initial plans.

Staying in the Game

[Question] Besides financing, the final industrial plan still has to be drawn up.

[Answer] That's the problem of synergy or of industrial collaboration agreements established in foreign negotiations. There too, there is some delay. By 31 December all member steel-producing states must have reported to the European Commission what tools are to be sacrificed on the altar of cuts in production capacity. We are in a poker game with our Luxembourg and Dutch counterparts. As you know, everyone in the game tries to be the last one at the table in order to pick up the most chips.

[Question] Does Belgium have the means to stick it out?

[Answer] We have been held back by our domestic political agreements, and we have also been urged on by our social disputes. But now that facts are forcing a financial delay on us, we cannot in any case leave the game before the others.

[Question] Might there be luck in misfortune?

[Answer] Something like that, because our counterparts also seem now to be in less of a hurry than they were in July.

[Question] The Luxembourgers and the Netherlands?

[Answer] The Netherlands show impatience only when they are afraid we might strike a deal with Luxembourg. The Grand Duchies are being restrained first by company elections and then by guarantees. But everything will have to be over with by 31 December.

[Question] Did you say held back by guarantees?

[Answer] Even if we explore most thoroughly the possibilities of getting along with the Luxembourgers, all options remain open. But I won't beat around the bush. The Luxembourgers are worried about the financial weakness of ARBED [Borbach, Esch and Dudelange United Steel Works], which will leave it isolated when Cockerill-Sambre is refloated. The problem of steel-production development in the framework of Benelux remains for the coming years.

[Question] What is the role and place of Sidmar?

[Answer] It's obvious. We Walloons are concerned about the division of "high-performance" steel production among the centers of Liege and Charleroi on one hand and Ghent, on the other.

[Question] That's not a new problem.

[Answer] No, of course not. My position on this point has not changed since July. And it won't change. I want a solution. But it must be a solution that guarantees a definite future for Cockerill-Sambre.

[Question] Does that mean there is still no agreement within the government concerning the preservation of Walloon cold steel from the appetite of Sidmar and Flanders?

[Answer] You said it. The problem is still there, the problem of trade-offs between progressive investment and the possibility of closures that may still take place in the future.

The Walloon Bride

[Question] Are you seeking a kind of contract?

[Answer] There are love marriages, but this is not one of them. There are also marriages of self-interest. In such a union, elementary precautions must be taken. As a lawyer I have some experience in alliances of this sort. In the event of divorce, for example, it is not because the bride--Wallonia--is economically the weaker that the husband--Flanders--must take all the community property.

[Question] Cockerill-Sambre's weakness is shared by ARBED of Luxembourg.

[Answer] Undeniably. But that is no reason why Sidmar, which has been invited to the reception, should eat the whole cake, rifle the silverware and steal the tablecloth and napkins to boot.

[Question] Does that mean the Walloon side will say no to Sidmar's participating in the assets of Phenix Work, Tolmatil and Ferblatil, the strong points of Cockerill-Sambre?

[Answer] Not at all. We favor this collaboration. If there is synergy with ARBED, we will have to collaborate with Sidmar in some development projects. But the fact remains that the foreseeable future will have to be built on guarantees. Will there be cuts in Walloon cold steel? That is inevitable. But the axes of development that are still possible must be protected from anarchic competition from Flanders.

[Question] Is this a Lieger speaking?

[Answer] By no means. There is no difference on this point between Liege and Charleroi. Isn't the only way of ensuring Sambre's hot steel production precisely to preserve its outlets in the Meuse cold steel plants? Besides, if Sidmar were to firm up considerably in cold steel to the point where it could compete with Liege, would people still talk about what remains to be built at Charleroi?

[Question] So there is no dispute among Walloon basins for you?

[Answer] Not in the government, in any case. It is possible that some people in both Liege and Charleroi have an interest in feeding internal quarrels. But we Walloons are not in a position to tear each other apart for Flander's benefit.

[Question] No Charleroi-Liege war, you say. But let's take up another aspect of the problem: the threat of conflict between the government and the unions over the corporate referendum.

[Answer] My primary objective, and it is the objective of the entire government, is to close the case on steel as soon as possible. An order of priorities has been set, and it is even in the policy agreement of 26 July: financing, the industrial setup, appointing directors, and, finally, the corporate agreement, probably ratified by a referendum.

No Fan of the Referendum

[Question] But the CVP [Christian Social Party [Flemish]] seems to be making the referendum a precondition to any other decision.

[Answer] The government respects its agreements of 26 July, which are clear enough. It is not a matter of following anybody down another path. How can the unions be asked to preach job sacrifice without knowing how they stand?

[Question] Do Messrs Dehaene and De Clerq see things the same way?

[Answer] You ask them. My mind is made up.

[Question] Is this referendum a commonsensical solution or a "gift" to liberal voters?

[Answer] I am no fan of the referendum, and the liberals did not start it. Having said that, though, there is a government agreement.

[Question] Even so, it has been said that it was a liberal attempt to break the back of the unions.

[Answer] But isn't it also said that there is a Gol-Gillion axis in Liege? The best solution is that all restructuring of steel production be done in maximum collaboration with the unions, which are capable of shouldering their own responsibilities.

[Question] Wouldn't the abandonment of Valfil provoke an inescapable confrontation with the Liege socialist union?

[Answer] The Walloons have waged too many symbolic battles. Let us concern ourselves with the general interest of society and with jobs. That means closing at least cost what must be closed and also guaranteeing the most efficient way of doing business in the future. As for the rest, Luxembourg or Holland, the results are not in yet.

[Question] But what about strikes?

[Answer] I think the unions are aware of the stakes, in both Liege and Charleroi. Endless strikes would be the death of everybody.

The Winning Banks

[Question] Have negotiations with the banks broken down?

[Answer] They are on course. The banks must realize that the financial restructuring effort accepted by the government also consolidates their position. They must also measure the advantage that they have been the only ones to take in the long years that the steel business has been running deficits.

[Question] Aren't you afraid of a European cutoff?

[Answer] The European Commission is attentive to the results we are trying to get. It knows how important our efforts are and how difficult our problems are. Even if interim financing is still needed (editor's note: 3 billion francs in January) I am convinced we will not encounter any insurmountable obstacle from the EEC.

Gol, Dehaene and Social Security

[Question] Within the majority, everyone seems to have his own opinion about reforming social security. Are you following Mr Verhofstadt in his crusade against the Dehaene plan?

[Answer] This reform is part of the government's objectives. But it will not be accomplished in one legislative session. Actually, I think we will submit several guideline-laws to parliament in order to set forth the basic principles, after which it will be up to the government to put flesh on the bones.

It has been understood that Mr Dehaene's proposals provide a basis for thought and discussion. They are not proposals to which the government is committed. That means, obviously, that they are amendable. They will be examined thoroughly by an interministerial commission that will take note of the agreements and disagreements and, perhaps, come up with alternatives. The representatives of ministers in the PVV [Freedom and Progress Party [Flemish]] are free to formulate their own suggestions.

[Question] Are you leaving this "Flemish" battle up to the PVV?

[Answer] We French-speaking liberals feel very much involved in this debate. We are concerned both that assets not be strained further and that the social character of the system be preserved. In any case we reject a dogmatic approach to the problem. We are not presenting a general plan, because that would only complicate the discussion.

But it remains obvious that it is possible and necessary to streamline the management of some agencies without considering the "public" nature of social security to be a dogma, and to cut off payments to those who need them least.

[Question] In what areas?

[Answer] I don't want to be specific, but if it helps we could play a conciliatory role where doctrinal axioms are not involved. In any case, the government is the place where the relative merits of doctrinal disputes can be weighed.

Rents: Everything is Settled

[Question] A public debate will be held on your bill to abolish rent control. Are you still determined not to accept any more amendments?

[Answer] A parliamentary committee has reached a compromise between the four groups in the majority. The government has taken up some amendments that meet the legitimate concerns of the Christian Social group.

That being the case, I consider the problem settled. After all, we can't just keep on negotiating the same thing over and over again. Also, I am warning the majority that any delaying action would mean that the bill would not be voted on before the end of the year. That means that rents would be completely decontrolled as of 1 January with no guarantees to renters. I doubt that is what the Christian Social party wants.

[Text] p. 2: "Gol: 'Reopening the Immigration Bill, A Knife Thrust and a Form of Perjury'"]

[Text] Jean Gol has been visibly irritated by the dispute that has arisen over the Belgian immigration and naturalization bill and especially by the attitude of the PSC [Christian Social Party [French]], which has decided to propose amendments to the bill. "It's getting to be an annoying game, watching PSC members of parliament reopen debate on agreements achieved with such difficulty." But the barbs of the vice-prime minister are not aimed only at the Christian Socialists. He also has a score to settle with some academics, "intellectuals who think they can teach him something about human rights."

Jean Gol defends himself vigorously against charges of drawing up a racist bill. He bitterly resents the accusation, as he told us in an exclusive interview. This bill "contains a few restrictive articles intended to tighten controls over certain channels of immigration that have remained open. The second, longer part will revolutionize Belgian nationalization procedures. A series of legal measures will favor the second and third generation of immigrants."

[Question] You have made a few overtures to the PSC by promising to change the provisions on the language preparation year and the means of returning students to their home countries after graduation. There remains the matter of reuniting families.

[Answer] The government has discussed this bill for weeks. The vote of confidence following the government communication of March 1983 passed without a single dissenting vote in the majority. The provisions of the bill were all spelled out. I answered questions from the opposition. No member of the majority said he was dissatisfied. Some provisions that were announced in the government's declaration have already been dropped as a concession to the Christian Social wing of the government.

[Question] Mr Deprez has taken a firm stand on reuniting families. That must be the rule and not the exception, in his view.

[Answer] In my opinion, that is part of the government's agreement. As for the principles behind this declaration, I am intransigent, and I consider the reopening of debate on those points not only as a stab in the back of the governmental agreement but also as a form of perjury on the part of those who voted for this declaration without asking for any further explanation.

I took the initiative of giving clarifications when I heard that some provisions did not seem clear. Concerning registration, for example, if it is really necessary to state in the text that it does not apply to localities where university campuses are located, okay, I'll do it.

Arguments from Authority

[Question] University administrators also mention neighboring communities. In Brussels, for example, that can and does pose problems.

[Answer] As long as the rectors defend the interests of the universities, I am ready to talk with them. Whenever they camouflage their positions by resorting to arguments from authority, I am ready to tell them that the government and parliament are the authority.

[Question] Are exact figures available concerning cases of abuse in reuniting families and the number of illegal aliens sponging off of the CPAS [Public Center for Social Aid]? Can the budgetary impact be measured for the provisions that will be made?

[Answer] The problem is not to measure the budgetary impact but to curtail abuses, unless you consider that the abuses should be covered up--and that is somewhat the argument of those who are fighting the bill. The fact that there aren't many is only an argument in favor of the bill.

[Question] The argument can be turned around. Since there are not many abuses, is it necessary to change the law?

[Answer] In the present situation, no abuses can be allowed, not even a few. When someone goes abroad to study--often at our expense--is it too much to ask in this time of crisis that his family resources be checked? Does that justify hunger strikes?

I Am Not Out to Satisfy Mr Nols

[Question] Your bill does not satisfy Mr Nols, either, and he has offered amendments. Aren't you afraid that the law will again not be respected in some localities?

[Answer] My bill is not intended to satisfy either Mr Nols or Mr Deprez. It is not intended to settle the problems of lodging, integration or the financial situation of the Brussels communities. I do what I know how to. I have always wanted the law to be followed.

[Question] Are your positions and those of the PSC likely to come into conflict in the immediate future?

[Answer] I am ready to accept amendments that make technical clarifications or correct certain absolute rules (such as notice to academic authorities before deportation steps are taken). No way will I touch the bill itself, and its principles are in the government's declarations of 1981 and 1983. I don't know what the PSC is going to do, but in a matter such as this, public opinion will judge harshly those who would sink this bill. I consider it a matter of government.

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LEFT-SOCIALISTS' CHAIRMAN BITTER OVER PARTY'S RADICALIZATION

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 7 Dec 83 p 6

[Interview with Left-Socialist Party chairman Preben Wilhjelm by Maria Cuculiza; date and place not given]

[Text] "We must have a discussion of the Joint Union List policy and thus of the policy that should characterize VS [Left-Socialist Party]," says Preben Wilhjelm, who also foresees that in the near future the party will be forced to disassociate itself from VS-U [Left-Socialist Youth], since otherwise there will be a party split.

The Joint Union List people are using factional freedom to develop into a party within the party. VS-U could split the parent party, the anxiety over open disagreement is leading to political deception and stagnation, the party's climate is hostile to women, but the possibility of an alternative party on VS's original basis is unrealistic, in the view of Preben Wilhjelm, who despite his harsh criticisms is still fond of his party in the same way a father is fond of his unmanageable, stubborn and self-righteous child.

At the party's 13th congress on 27 November, Preben Wilhjelm suffered a stinging defeat on his proposed amendment to the party's resolution on democracy. An amendment that has been so dear to his heart that he has devoted 5 out of the total of 7 minutes of speaking time he has used at all the party's congresses.

But what works Preben Wilhjelm up almost more than the vote against the democracy proposal is that the congress voted by a large majority against a resolution condemning an action group's attack on Mogens Glistrup in Faelledsparken on 1 May and the Joint Union List group's support of it.

[Preben Wilhjelm] That we suffered a setback in the discussion on democracy is something that we may well start to explain away, as Jorgen Lenger did at the press conference after the congress. But the resolution on 1 May is quite short and precise, so unless they are just stupid and vote according

to the person who makes the motion without reading what it says, it is simply incredible that such a thing could be rejected by VS.

[Question] What is your own idea about why this was rejected?

Peace and Quiet

[Answer] Voting was along factional lines and those in the center group, which helped defeat the proposal, have some kind of sick idea about the main thing being to keep things peaceful. They did not want to give the Joint Union List people the reprimand that the passage of the resolution would have been, even if most of them deplored the action.

[Question] Why the great need for peace?

[Answer] Don't you think it is because people have a realistic feeling that in many ways we are in a crisis. But I just think it is wrong to think that creating peace on these matters will benefit us. However it is probably characteristic of most party members that they are unwilling to have these different development trends and congressional resolutions emerge openly.

I think that is very wrong, for if one believes these things, one must fight an offensive battle for them. There is a kind of schizophrenia in the party that involves all the political issues and the party's situation as such.

We have a situation today in which the congressional majority finds it almost disloyal if the rest of us go out and talk about the things we actually approved, as I am doing now.

It is almost as if people will not acknowledge their own resolutions if they are brought out in public. Decisions are something one sits and makes for oneself at congresses and repudiates if they are publicized. But they will have to take their own actions seriously and explain them, for otherwise the whole thing will be a fraud one way or another.

We cannot continue with ambiguity, for it is not serious and it is unbelievable and I do not know where the heads of such people are at, for it is so schizoid and dishonest to operate with such duplicity.

[Question] You said at the press conference that the voting results on the democracy motion are an expression that the process in VS is going the wrong way. What is the reason for that?

Giving Up

[Answer] I do not think there is a single instance where individuals whose concept of democracy resembles mine have changed their minds. On the contrary, we have seen more and more support for our views, but the thing that

...what have happened is that our part of the party is the one that has given up, opted out, become tired, failed to take part in the selection of delegates. One might say that the process has gone in the right direction for individuals, but that in the party as such, things have gone the wrong way. That is also a sign of illness, of course.

[Question] Why is it precisely your group that has become tired?

[Answer] That is not really anything new. In a way we have experienced through all the years that it is apparently so demanding to be a member of the party that when people have been members for 4 or 5 years they become tired. In the course of these years they have generally become more politically aware and in my eyes also more sensible than those who have just been recruited. They start getting tired of the new and less mature members and leave the party.

We have always seen this flow pattern. But another explanation is that people in general do not have enough revolutionary patience. I know quite a few members, after all--you have some of them working for INFORMATION--who originally opposed and warned against the resolution on democracy and felt the employment plan was a dubious one. After a few years they realized that it would work after all, but at the very moment they realized this, they lost patience with all the others who had not yet realized it. And then they can go out and slam the door with the justification that VS is simply too insane when it cannot be bothered to approve the resolution on democracy, even if they personally opposed it. It may be hard to accept the fact that others may be a little slower to reach the same viewpoint in the area where one has personally turned a somersault.

[Question] You say that it has always been like this, but there still must have been something that reinforced the negative process.

[Answer] I cannot really explain that, but I would think it has something to do with the fact that defections from the more experienced section of the party have been more serious recently.

Nitpicking and Distrust

[Question] In your defense of an amendment to the resolution on democracy you said that nitpicking and unpolitical considerations have caused you to lag behind in several areas. What do you mean?

[Answer] When I say that nitpicking and internal distrust have prevented us from being offensive in the areas where we were ahead, this concerns the employment plan, for example, where the Joint Union List scolded us for being right-wing Social Democrats and did everything possible internally to cast doubt on us in the party while always leaning on it externally. The same thing has been true in the housing and energy sectors too.

[Question] You also write that approving the old proposal on democracy represents a step backward for your current rights policy.

[Answer] I feel that in the past we have had the clearest profile of any party in the area of rights. And the only way I can pursue a very hard offensive line in that area is if the party agrees that this should be done consistently, regardless of whether it applies to political friends or enemies. And it looks schizophrenic when the party approves the stand it has taken on the Glistrup actions and the Joint Union List people's writings last summer.

Then they should tell the spokesman on rights policy what they want changed, but they do not. It is as if they are aware that it would be harmful for the party to slack off on the policy that has been pursued and therefore they shy away from taking the consequences of their own decisions. But in one way or another this is a swindle.

[Question] Can you go on being a member of a party with which you are so dissatisfied?

[Answer] Although I am dissatisfied with the way the party is developing at the moment, the main thing is that we survive. It should be no secret that many of those who have left the party--or are about to leave--have reflected over whether VS should be regarded as dead and whether or not they should try to do something different.

[Question] Have you taken part in discussions of that kind?

[Answer] Yes, but I think it will be much harder to repeat what we did in the mid-1970's. There was much more room for us then. Since then, SF [Socialist People's Party] has clearly developed in our direction and that is one of the reasons why VS risks extinction.

No New Party

I definitely think our existence has helped to influence SF in a good direction and I am not at all sure that this trend is guaranteed unless there is inspiration and competition from the left. I think it is too hard and when I ask people if they feel it is better not to have any part to the left of SF or that such a role is played by the VS we are dissatisfied with, they all agree that it is better with the five or six people at the head of the Top 20 list. It is this kind of consideration that determines whether I will decide to leave the party.

[Question] So we can rule out the possibility that you will run for a new party?

[Answer] Yes, absolutely, for I believe too much in the rotation principle I helped to introduce myself to even consider running again--either for VS or for another party. I think the same thing applies to Steen Folke.

[Question] Why are women so poorly represented on the executive committee?

[Answer] We have always neglected that area, but you could say that we have slipped even farther behind. The congress was a very clear revelation of the way things are. It is very hostile to women to function in the way VS does.

Our work form is tailored to single men without obligations and that is an artificial climate in which to build a party and will of course have an effect on who will feel comfortable in it. This will have a great impact on women, of course, but it also affects men with children and time-consuming obligations and that is also why the more politically experienced and aware people decide that it is no fun to be in the party any longer.

In addition, what is esteemed in the party is not what appeals to those potential women members who are thinking in terms of women's politics and who have some experience from the women's movement. For it is a terrific work load, people get credit in VS by entering the internal debate with long long speeches.

[Question] What can be done about this?

[Answer] I don't really know, since a proposal to introduce sex quotas--which, incidentally, I support--would not solve much of the problem, because sex quotas would not make things more attractive if the environment in the party stayed the same. But the women who would resign for that kind of reason would probably not join in the first place. They will probably get some top women, but they will be the exceptions who have lived with and accepted the heavy burdens of the party. They will not open the doors for other women, so it goes deeper than a sex quota.

[Question] You said also that unpolitical factional considerations were to blame for the party's stagnation. What did you mean by that?

Debate on Joint Union List

[Answer] I think it is still exciting and correct to have factional freedom. But I honestly feel that this has often been abused to create artificial contrasts, to create platforms for personal advancement and to divide people over trivial issues.

For example the congress would have been open to the press if a small group in the Joint Union List had not allowed itself to be overruled by a majority in the faction. Here for the first time we saw a faction pursuing factional policy within its own faction. They are behaving more and more like a party within the party.

[Question] It sounds as if you are sick and tired of the Joint Union List people.

[Answer] Well I really think it would be logical to start talking about which line will run the party in the future. It is quite obvious that there are limits to how long this kind of thing can go on. Our people are gradually leaving the party. One might say that it is pretty democratic that the new people take over when the old ones disappear. But the problem is that the Joint Union List has changed the party. And it amazes me that they can stay in the party when their policy is so different than the basic VS policy. They have the same spiteful ambivalence toward us as VS-U has. I have a feeling that the only reason they stay in the party is that we are represented in Folketing, but that makes no sense, for we gained our representation on an entirely different basis than theirs.

VS-U: Repudiation or Split

[Question] You have called the Joint Union List-backed youth division, VS-U, a deplorable mistake. Isn't it reasonable for young people to be with other young people?

[Answer] I think it is a deplorable decision on the basis of some general views which VS has always held. We feel it will be a sandbox for a cheering section or a forum for polemics against the mother party.

[Question] Does that matter?

[Answer] Yes, because I think VS-U can split the party. We will either have to repudiate it or break up, for the young people sound so incredibly hostile toward the party that I cannot understand why they want to be part of VS-U. If the hatred had applied to parts of the party it would be one thing, but it was turned against the entire party. They had nothing but bad things to say about it. So it is hard for me to see how this could be a constructive affiliation.

I also think it is deplorable because there was a tendency at the congress for the Joint Union List people among others to strongly support the young people who were very militant and condemning in relation to those who had different ideas. If what we have seen so far is representative of the trend-setters in VS-U I have no doubt at all that this is an expression of the worst climate we have ever experienced in VS.

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TOP CANDIDATE IN LEFT-SOCIALISTS WELCOMES PARTY SPLIT

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 7 Dec 83 p 6

[Interview with Jorgen Lenger by Niels Westberg; date and place not given]

[Text] The top VS [Left-Socialist Party] candidate, Jorgen Lenger, wants an open split in the party--a "resounding split" that will purge the party of its biggest faction, the Joint Union List, and put an end to "comma thinking": VS should be more popular, learn to act concretely and more spontaneously--and make corrections afterward.

When the Left-Socialists' top man on the so-called Top 20 list of Folketing candidates, executive committee member Jorgen Lenger, foresees and even welcomes an open split in VS now--a "resounding split"--he means in more concrete terms that the time is ripe for a final showdown with the people behind the party's biggest faction, the Joint Union List, who occupy five out of the 21 seats on the executive committee but who in Lenger's opinion "must leave the party now--the quicker the better."

[Question] Why is that?

[Answer] Because we cannot avoid this split anyway. The FFL [Joint Union List] people have said themselves--most recently after the party congress--that they placed a higher priority on work in the faction than on party work. In addition they have actually decided to leave the party, but they say they will be the ones to decide when. They have remained in the party up to now because they can recruit new members for the faction here--which they could not do if they were outside the party. But the decisive thing is that FFL works only for its own benefit, to build up the faction--regardless of what benefits the party. Actually they often work directly against the best interests of the party, for the fact is that FFL has damaged VS externally time after time.

I think the time is ripe to tell the FFL people: Play your cards, the game is over--take the consequences of your attitude and leave now! VS can no longer stand around and wait for you to leave, but must take a hand in

deciding when this will happen. And preferably it should happen now. You must leave the party--the quicker the better.

[Question] But isn't the idea behind "factional freedom" in VS that people have a right to work politically when they are rooted in a faction?

[Answer] Formally there is nothing wrong with what FFL is doing. But politically the faction's relationship to the party is completely untenable. In party work they sit with their arms crossed, on the executive committee they certainly intend to block any action and thus have a demoralizing effect--all in all, their loyalty is not with the party but with the faction. FFL, which was originally formed--and I myself had a part in this--to check strong reformist tendencies in the party has ended up today in pure and sterile sectarianism. To illustrate this, there are limits to how many tunnels one can accept in a lawn before one has to combat the moles. That limit has been reached. We must have the showdown, the delousing, the purge now.

Political Showdown

[Question] It sounds more as if you want a showdown with the faction system rather than a political showdown.

[Answer] That is not true. The split that I think we simply must have now is political. The showdown with FFL is also a showdown with a narrow, limited and totally inadequate political concept that consists of defining political work in a narrow area and giving priority to just a few things, primarily union and job market policy. A political view that--to put it in a nutshell--regards an industrial worker as a onedimensional person, as an industrial worker exclusively, ignoring the fact that the worker also lives somewhere and may be involved in the peace movement and the environmental movement, could be a woman, is very likely a parent, and so forth. One cannot, like FFL, restrict the political area to apply solely to production conditions--in reality this is an insult to that very industrial worker, who of course is something more and different as a human being. And of course this worker expects that a political party which he or she is expected to sympathize with will also reflect all this "more and different" politically.

But that is where FFL gets off. And not only does it get off, it also acts in a way that directly hinders the development of a policy that can include all the other areas, areas in which it is necessary to have a policy if one is to be a leftist, socialist party.

In addition--as the other quite central point that has to lead to a split--FFL's party concept in my opinion is a misunderstanding and harmful so-called "Leninist" view of the party as something that comes in from the outside and "intervenes" in popular struggles or movements. As if the party is a kind of small group that has to infiltrate and then lead movements or groups that have already been set in motion.

This involves a distorted and uncritical plagiarism of Lenin. This is not and will never be VS. We will take part because we fight the same fights--we should be in the midst of and move along with the trends and movements in all areas that are moving society very very slowly toward socialism. VS must not stand outside like a nonpopulist cadre party which coldly and cynically analyzes the struggle of the people and then "intervenes," makes "corrections" and "leads." We must join in "on an equal basis," in a manner of speaking and regardless of whether we have the correct policy and line completely finished and ready in advance.

Dock Workers and Cyclists for Peace

To put it more concretely, it is both harmful and totally confusing to outsiders when FFL people can attend a cyclists' peace rally, as they did last summer in Silkeborg, and pass out flyers with the slogan that "100 dock workers are more important than 10,000 cyclists for peace." Of course they are perfectly entitled to this belief on the basis of an overall theoretical analysis of the class struggle, but in the first place it was totally irrelevant to point this out in the actual situation and in the second place it expresses contempt and unrealistic political thinking to look down on 10,000 peace cyclists. That kind of thing scares people away from VS and creates headshaking and confusion about what VS thinks--especially what it thinks of the peace movement.

That is one example--a small but graphic one--of the fact that FFL puts a higher priority on factional viewpoints than on party views, an example of disloyalty to the party and an example of what others in the party have put up with patiently for far too long, a "free-wheeling ride" that must be stopped now.

Comma Thinking

We must get away from the tendency--chiefly represented by FFL--that makes it necessary to overanalyze everything, to analyze problems down to the comma level, before we can act. This makes work in the party overambitious, unnecessarily slow, uninspired and full of restraints because people are naturally afraid of not being wise enough, Marxist enough, sufficiently well-read to "see the light." We must do away with comma thinking and learn to act more on the basis of outrage and concrete positions. Act--and then make corrections afterward. Learn from political experience and not try to tailor our experiences to fit our "doctrine."

How we are to get the current struggle in for example the peace movement or the environmental movement to hang together with and point to the decisive power question is something we must learn from our experiences of how and when we operate with these movements.

Speaking roughly, I think that all the FFL-inspired and more or less intelligent discussions of how the revolutionary party should look and which role

it should play are totally irrelevant. History writers will decide that in due course--for us it is a matter of making policy on those points in which the people are vitally interested.

Spring Forward

[Question] Aren't you afraid that a split could reduce VS even more?

[Answer] I am more afraid of our not having the split now. That we fail to clean house--for otherwise VS risks being reduced to an uninteresting small group, a revolutionary tea club.

Of course a split is unpleasant and it can be harmful, but it is primarily harmful if we allow it to develop into a protracted and tough battle to the death during which tired and disillusioned people individually drift out of the party and hide themselves because the internal, debilitating power struggles have the character of unclear factional intrigues or personal clashes. If that happens, there will be no political benefit from a split, just the prospect of quiet decline. But if the split occurs openly and with a bang, in a political, well-defined and unhesitating way, I really think VS could reap political advantages.

We must demystify the concept of a "split" and understand that a political showdown is a vital necessity. If we can manage to do that, I think the split can mean a leap forward politically--forward in the direction of a broader, more popular, member-directed party that can gather up the thousands of left-wing people in this country whom we really ought to count as being part of us, but do not because we--first and foremost because of FFL--appear to them as a sectarian, clearcut, overambitious and overtheoretical party.

For instance, how does it look when we expel Lesbian women from the party--as happened here in Aarhus--because the sexual struggle, at least that part of it, is not given a political priority in the class struggle by VS? This kind of thing is unacceptable and I personally refuse to endorse it.

So a resounding split would be preferable, as I said. Besides, experiences from the big splits in the Danish CP, SF [Socialist People's Party] and VS too show that breaks and amputations when they occur as a result of deep reflection are politically fruitful, qualitative leaps forward.

Tactically Unwise

[Question] But can you blame people for being scared away--considering your aversion to publicity, the sealing off of the last congress and the rejection of Preben Wilhjelm's resolution on democracy?

[Answer] No, the congress behaved in a tactically unwise way on those matters. First, holding a closed congress. We do have problems here, you

might call them security problems--delegates who would rather not have it known where they work that they are acting as VS delegates.

In addition, there are many who rightly fear that the political debate could degenerate into playing to the gallery if the press attends. But these are both practical problems. They can be solved, and should have been, so we can open up the congress--or at least parts of it.

Next, Wilhelm's resolution on democracy. It is not good enough, as Wilhelm himself knows. It is too abstract in its principles and cannot cover all the concrete situations we want our democratic principles to apply to. For example we would have problems with the liquidation of informers during the occupation of Denmark, which we do not want to reject--and we would also have a hard time dealing with Tanzania's invasion of Uganda in order to get rid of Amin. Wilhelm's principles do not take that situation into account either.

On the other hand the present resolution on democracy is not good enough either. So it would have been wiser to give preliminary approval to Wilhelm's resolution and then send it out for further discussion and expansion before the next congress. Instead we chose to reject it and continue to work with the old resolution. The result? An unfortunate--and unjustified--impression on the public.

But the reality is that no one in the party--with the exception of FFL perhaps--has a fuzzy relation to democratic rights. We have indicated this in countless concrete issues and naturally we will continue to do so. But the way this matter has been presented in public--and here Wilhelm himself is far from being blameless--makes the discussion deceptive. The clash between "genuine democrats" and nondemocrats in VS does not exist.

6578

CSO: 3613/57

SDP GROUP SECRETARY ANDERSEN SEES LINK WITH SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S PARTY

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 13 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Lisbeth Knudsen]

[Text] Social Democratic group secretary Jytte Andersen says the party should now stress cooperation with SF [Socialist People's Party]. Social Democratic political spokesman Svend Auken denies that the Social Democrats have written off cooperation with the Radical Liberals.

The Social Democrats must write off cooperation with the Radical Liberals for the rest of this century and stress close cooperation with SF instead.

That is how Social Democratic Folketing group secretary Jytte Andersen proclaimed an end to Social Democratic cooperation across the middle in Folketing a few days before a Folketing election might become a reality and the voters could have to evaluate the Social Democratic period in the opposition.

The party's political spokesman, Svend Auken, told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that Jytte Andersen's statements do not express the party's official position.

"There is substantial disappointment in the Social Democratic Party concerning the way the Radicals have behaved under the nonsocialist government, but our main opponent is the nonsocialist government and not the Radicals," he said and added that he does not write off future cooperation with the Radical Liberals.

Jytte Andersen said at a meeting in Copenhagen last night: "The Radical Liberals are tying themselves so closely to the Conservative policy of cut-backs that the Social Democrats can hardly count on the Radicals as a support party for the rest of this decade. We can hardly expect a red majority as early as the next election. But the way out of the political darkness a little further down the road must be a cooperation with SF on an entirely different unified policy than that of the government."

Svend Auken said: "In the next election we will work for a stronger Social Democratic Party and for more support for the economic program we have outlined.

"We naturally want to cooperate with the parties who want to help implement the program. We are hoping for SF, but also the Radicals, in this context, although I must admit that this calls for a new and different attitude on their part."

6578

CSO: 3613/57

JORGENSEN IN TROUBLE WITH 'YOUNG WOLVES' IN SDP

Copenhagen BERLIN: AP Wire Service, 16-22 Dec 83 p 2

[Commentary by Victor Andersen: "Anker Jorgensen Surrounded by Young Wolves in SDP--the Mona Lisa Smile Has Entered Danish Politics"]

[Text] Anker Jorgensen has played high stakes on behalf of his party in a situation where elementary strategic thinking perhaps could have told him to go more cautiously. This has caused speculation that the young, impatient prospective ministers in the Social Democratic Party [SDP] have tricked him into a policy which will cause his fall in the party, but a confrontation between the working men and the academicians can still turn out to the advantage of the working men.

The Mona Lisa smile has entered Danish politics. It curled on the lips of Ritt Bjerregaard the day when Anker Jorgensen committed what has been called the mistake of his life. The mistake was that he stepped up the conflict with the quartet government in the area of economic policy. Accidents could happen here. The problem could be elevated to the point where it would result in an election, which the SDP could only lose. Compared with the missile situation, which can not be untied from its mooring, which is that the SDP in spite of everything does not dare call for an end to Denmark's NATO membership.

But just in the area of economic policy, where the success of the quartet government is smashing, Anker Jorgensen called for a confrontation, which he was doomed in advance to lose. Seldom has one seen a political general go to war on the enemy's terms.

It happened after a meeting of the SDP Folketing group, followed by a press conference in which Anker Jorgensen distributed a piece of paper. As the first question, Tage Jensen from the Liberal Party press asked Anker Jorgensen to explain a short cryptic sentence in the middle of the page. Anker Jorgensen said, "That means that we will vote against the third reading of the finance law."

Ritt Bjerregaard followed the scenario from a chair in the corner of the party room. Did she feel that she was inconspicuous? She, who could be removed as minister with only a single tear as an expression of her feelings, could on that occasion only smile. But it was a fine smile. Much like the one on Mona Lisa in the famous painting in the city of luxury hotels, Paris.

In the SDP Folketing group, in addition to Ritt Bjerregaard, Jens Risgaard Knudsen has occasion to harbor a certain resentment toward the party chairman. He has hardly forgotten the circumstances of his departure as minister of public works, communication and transportation. Compared with Ritt Bjerregaard, Risgaard Knudsen's reaction to Anker Jorgensen's declaration of war against the quartet government was not quiet. His laughter rang through the corridors of Christiansborg that day.

The Young Wolves

When things of that kind happen, it awakens the flair of the daily press for linking events. Before long the story was that the young members of the party had tricked Anker Jorgensen into causing an election. Then when he would lose it and withdraw from the chairmanship of the party it would be their turn to take over.

According to this theory, the most important thing to happen at such a dramatic moment in Danish politics does not so much take place in government power, as in SDP power. This power has so far always been passed peacefully from one party head to the next. It has been that way from Stauning's time up to Jens Otto Krag's personal nomination of Anker Jorgensen as his successor. Eventually this peaceful transition is therefore to be replaced by a palace revolution and a war of succession.

It is undoubtedly correct, in this dramatic way of solving problems, that impatience by the young and immature in the party is great. Just as the Liberal Party has its young lions, the SDP has its wolf litter. Several of the litter have already tried ministerial posts, and have formed the opinion that it is something they need. It tortures them that it is now the Liberal Party lions who are enjoying the good things, while they are wandering around restless, lean from a lack of political work and influence.

An especially active wolf or fox, former Minister of Housing Erling Olsen, was mentioned. He deftly advanced both the Folketing group and the party chairman forward to a position from which they directly sought a confrontation and an inevitable defeat. Erling Olsen has amused himself vociferously and heartily about the fame he attained thereby. Witnesses can relate that he has explained that the only mistakes in the articles about his trickery were the reservations and question marks which appeared here and there.

He has openly, with the robust humor toward the reverses of political life that he is known for, taken it all very calmly. He has also been heard to

say, in moments of seriousness, "Are you crazy? I am obviously Anker's man. We all are, of course, when it comes down to it."

Anker Jorgensen is still strong, and everybody in the party knows it, even the young wolves. One of them told WEEKENDAVISEN:

"He who tries to overthrow Anker will be swept out of all our democratic assemblies within the hour. Because Anker is popular. That is his great strength. None of us wants to put him down. That would be too dangerous. Anker will himself choose when he will go. He is in charge. Make no mistake about it. Everything else is loose speculation in the media. Some can obviously grumble about him, and allow themselves a malicious smile in a corner. But none of them dream of overthrowing him."

One of today's leading politicians put it this way to WEEKENDAVISEN:

"Anker Jorgensen can not be dislodged. He controls the party's organization apparatus, and is popular out in the country. He has seldom said no when it comes to a jubilee festival of a party organization. None of the young people in the party will try to bother him. Thus it will be the working men against the young academicians, and it will be the latter group which will get the attention of the people, so it will be harmful."

And to quote a pair of middle-aged wolves in the party, "It is in vain to speculate who will be Anker's successor. When we came here several years ago, it was said that the successor would be found among Niels Matthaisen, Jorgen Peder Hansen and Poul Sogaard. If something should happen to Anker Jorgensen, Svend Jakobsen is probably the most likely prospect, in that Knud Heinesen perhaps would plead his poor health. But in a year or two the constellation can completely change."

One Seat Per Year

Anker Jorgensen's firm position in the party is not less convincing when viewed in a time frame. When he came in 1972, the last Folketing election had given the SDP 70 seats. Today it has 59. In 11 years as leader of the party he has thus lost exactly one seat per year. In other words that is the operating cost of having him as the party leader. But his position in the party is not weakened.

Anker's strong position also stands out in comparison with what has happened in the other parties during his time as chairman.

This year it is just 10 years since we had the so-called earthquake election, when the Progressive Party, the Center Democrats and the Christian People's Party came into the world in the most grandiose birth of triplets in Danish politics. They were all carried forward on a wave of indignation--turned against taxes, against the SDP's turn to the left and against the relaxed

attitude of the nonsocialist parties toward the spiritual and physical values. Waves of protest usually die after they have washed up on the Danish beach, especially if they meet a certain obstacle. But this has not happened in the case of the three parties. Why not?

Professor Tage Kaarsted, current historian at Odense University, explains it this way:

"The reason is that the problems which were cited by the protesters are still not solved. Of course certain steps have been taken to solve them, but actually they have not accomplished much. That is because it takes an unbelievably long time to adjust a machine like the Danish welfare society. It resembles a supertanker which one wants to dock at Stigsnaes. The speed must be taken off at Kalundborg or the ship will end up at Kiel."

While the problems and the parties thus are more or less unchanged, there have on the other hand been major personnel changes overall in the Danish party system during the past 10 years. Until the protest election in 1973 Erik Ninn-Hansen and Erik Haunstrup Clemmensen were "the conservatives." Then when the two squared off against each other in an internal party fight, out came Poul Schluter. He has built himself up in these 10 years.

In the Liberal and Radical Liberal Parties, Poul Hartling and Hilmar Braunsgaard have withdrawn. Each was especially for peace, but they did not have a peace-loving party behind them. Among the Liberals there was a boasting match between Ivar Hansen and Henning Christophersen over the issue of whether the Liberals should enter a government coalition with SDP. Henning Christophersen, who tried to get a coalition with the Left-Socialists, won--not, as is generally assumed, at the party's summer meeting at Skagen in August 1978, but at a group meeting at Christiansborg in June. At the earlier meeting the media, however, was not present. On the other hand they were there in large numbers under the summer sun at Skagen.

Among the Radicals, Niels Helveg Petersen had to fight his fickleness--and some doubts in the group--in order to fulfill the role of decisive party boss.

In the Progressive Party there has been a leadership change, the longevity of which will be determined by the records of the court and a reprieve.

In the Christian People's Party, catholic Jens Moller had to give ground to low-church Chr. Christensen, who skillfully has changed the protest wave in the middle of the action. When the pornography and abortion law was definitely defeated, he turned instead to environmental problems, which in other countries have formed the basis for Green Parties. That is classic political surf riding.

The Socialist People's Party has for 10 years been a kind of transit camp for original young communists, who afterward become almost nonsocialist.

One case among the revolutionaries is Robert Pedersen's protest against the missile policies of SDP. Now in the Socialist People's Party there is a clear turning back under Gert Petersen. Ten years ago the party leader was Sigurd Omann. He, like so many others, has been driven to the Right.

The Magician

One can see changes of leadership everywhere with the exception of the Center Democrats [CD] and the SDP. In CD the leading magician of Danish politics, Erhard Jacobsen, could reappear on the scene at every election, with his top hat and rabbits. In SDP Anker Jorgensen's weaknesses have often been a topic of conversation--his open mouth, impulsiveness and lack of economic awareness. At the same time all this has won for him the love of the people, and he has really shown himself to be the decade's strongest man in any party--therefore something like a party god for whom they like to sacrifice one seat per year. The next election will bring the next sacrifice.

9287

CSO: 3613/65

KAJANOJA ON PARTY SPLIT, ARMS RACE IN CENTRAL COMMITTEE TALK

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 20 Nov 83 p 11

[Excerpts] Communist Party Chairman Jouko Kajanoja says that the parliamentary representatives of the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] will adhere to their own budget line. On Saturday Kajanoja opened a two-day meeting of the central committee of the SKP [Finnish Communist Party]. He said the representatives are ready to negotiate and compromise only "if the result is a real improvement" in next year's budget.

Along with problems of current interest on the domestic and international political scene the SKP's central committee also debated issues in connection with the preparation for the party congress to be held next spring. Chairman Kajanoja believes that SKP unity will increase at the Congress.

He said, however, that within the SKP "there are comrades who focus their attention on internal struggles." According to Kajanoja there are comrades "on both sides of the intraparty battle." In his judgment these struggles within the party are dwindling "primarily into the preoccupation of small groups."

Speaking about international problems, Kajanoja insisted on the dismantling of nuclear weapons by both the East and the West.

He did say, however, that in any dispute over military superiority the SKP "backs the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, and the absolute necessity of responding to the arms buildup so that imperialism does not gain superiority."

12327

CSO: 3617/50

CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS TO PREPARE PROGRAM FOR SUMMER CONGRESS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 21 Nov 83 p 10

[Excerpts] Program Details Up for Discussion

According to Chairman Jouko Kajanoja the central committee of the SKP [Finnish Communist Party] concentrated on working out the details of the party program. The central committee decided for the time being not to engrave these details in stone, but instead sent them to a program work-group which is getting them into shape for treatment and discussion by the organization by the end of the year.

At next summer's 20th party congress the SKP intends to deal with these program details. The new party program created on the basis of these details will be presented at the 21st Party Congress for a-proval.

The SKP's current party program dates from the year 1969.

In international politics the SKP standpoint is that a united public opinion and pressure from the peoples of the world can still prevent NATO from carrying out its plan to deploy Euromissiles.

The SKP is expecting quick results from the first stage of the European disarmament conference. In addition, emphasis is being placed on the relevance and topicality of the Nordic countries' nuclear-free zone.

12327

CSO: 3617/50

BKDL SOCIALIST PAPER ATTACKS SKP STALINIST'S POWER IN CP

Helsinki KANSAN UUTiset in Finnish 18 Nov 83 p 3

[Text] The Finnish People's Democratic League paper attacks furiously in its editorial the Finnish Communist Party's efforts to become unified.

The paper claims that "the Communist Party's current leadership is unifying the party by giving more influential power to the minority within the Communist Party. This again cannot lead to anything but the opening of the Communist Party's doors to Stalinism and dogmatic marxism, while on the other hand, the Communist Party's doors become closed to tolerance, creative marxism and Finnish-national socialism."

"The Communist Party that has swallowed the medicines of the minority," would, on the other hand, "certainly offer even the People's Democratic League a suitable dose of Stalinism and dogmatism," assumes VAPAA SANA. By repeating the Conservatives' standard statement the paper adds that "the People's Democratic League would to a larger extent than before be offered the role of a cover organization in accordance with the model of the 1950's."

VAPAA SANA ends its editorial with the following threat: "The present People's Democratic League cannot have a future as an organization where the socialists of the party would collaborate with the Communist Party, in case the Communist Party would become unified under the minority's conditions. The collaboration with the Communist Party with its dogmatic and Stalinist features does not interest the Socialists of the People's Democratic League."

9662

OS: 3617/52

POLL FINDS LOSSES SUSTAINED BY SKDL, CENTER PARTY

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 18 Nov 83 p 9

[Text] According to an interview study performed for the SEURA magazine by the M-Information Center, the parties that most clearly would have lost their support were the Center Party and the Finnish People's Democratic League, but a decrease could also be seen in the support of the Conservative Party and the Social Democrats.

Those interviewed gave the most support to the Social Democratic Party, supported by 26.4 percent (the result of the election last spring was 26.7 percent for the Social Democratic Party). The Conservative Party remains the second largest party with a 21.6 percent support reading (the election result was 22.1). The support would thus have decreased by 0.3 percent units for the Social Democrats and by 0.5 percent units for the Conservative Party.

According to the study the support of the Green Party would have increased by 2.3 percent units and would now be 3.8 percent (1.5 percent in the elections). Of those interviewed, 11.9 percent supported the Finnish Rural Party (the election result was 9.7 percent).

The Center Party continues to be the third most popular party with its 14.8 percent support (16.6 percent in the elections). The Finnish People's Democratic League was supported in the interview by 13.0 percent (14 percent in the election). The support of the Center Party thus decreased by 1.8 and the Finnish People's Democratic League by 1.0 percent units.

The interview gives 0.8 percent to the Liberal Party (1.0 in the election), 4.5 percent to the Swedish People's Party (4.9 in the election), 0.2 percent to the Finnish People's Unification Party (0.1 in the election), 2.6 percent to the Finnish Christian Union (3.0 in the election) and 0.4 percent support to POP [Constitutional Right Party] (0.4 percent in the election).

9662

CSO: 3617/52

SKDL SUPPORTS KANSAN UUTISET AT EXPENSE OF LOCAL PRESS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 23 Nov 83 p 8

[Text] Oulu (HS) KANSAN UUTISET [PEOPLE'S NEWS], chief organ of SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League], will receive the money necessary to patch up its shaky financial state, at the expense, however, of the People's Democratic provincial newspapers.

SKDL plans to decrease by more than one-half the amount of government aid its provincial newspapers now receive. With the new distribution of government support KANSAN UUTISET will benefit to the tune of about 2 million marks.

It is felt that within a short time this reduction in aid will kill off those People's Democratic provincial papers that are financially weakest. The effects of these cutbacks will soon be evident in the financially more solid papers as well.

The Oulu-based KANSAN TAHTO [PEOPLE'S WILL], suffering a cutback of nearly 1 million marks, is discontinuing its morning edition. "There will also be reductions in personnel, the number of times the paper appears, and in the number of pages per paper," says editor-in-chief Yrjo Rautio.

In keeping with the paper's diminution KANSAN TAHTO is eliminating "just" one editorial position. Kuopio's KANSAN SANA [PEOPLE'S WORD] is letting five persons go and Tampere's HAMEEN YHTEISTYO [HAME COLLABORATION] three, as far as is known. Most of them are editors. Pretty much the same thing is happening at other newspapers.

Oulu's KANSAN TAHTO, well-known as the chief organ of the "ax-liners," this year is receiving 1.95 million marks in newspaper support, but only an even million next year as proposed by the DKL [League of Democratic Publishers]. According to the proposal, support for HAMEEN YHTEISTYO and KANSAN SANA would drop from 900,000 to 700,000 marks, that of KANSAN AANI [PEOPLE'S VOICE], published in Vaasa, from 580,000 to 280,000 marks, and the SATAKUNNAN TYO [SATAKUNTA LABOR] of Pori would suffer a reduction in aid from 720,000 marks to 320,000.

KANSAN UUTISET's 9 million marks of parliamentary support remain unchanged. This means, in effect, that the provincial papers are bearing the brunt of the

reduction of government aid to the SKDL, a reduction proportionate to the party's loss of seats in recent elections.

According to editor-in-chief Rautio it follows that from now on the People's Democratic provincial papers will be offering a poorer product at a higher price.

Rautio feels the matter is being handled foolishly in every respect. "SKDL's growth potential is in the provinces, and if the party intends to get back on its feet again, then that's where it should be starting. These decisions are leading us in a totally different direction and away from the base for growth."

KANSAN UUTISET in Debt to Its Printing House

Finnish Communist Party Chairman Jouko Kajanoja and First Secretary Arvo Aalto were not available for comment on Tuesday. Generally speaking the concentration of financial support in KANSAN UUTISET is justified by the paper's debts to the publishing company, Yhteistyö [Collaboration], which prints it. This company's primary stockholder is the Communist Party.

This company is the publishing organization behind the newspaper YHTEISTYÖ, which is planned to be the chief organ of the central committee of the SKP [Finnish Communist Party]. The paper will begin to appear weekly at the beginning of the new year.

Yrjö Rautio, editor-in-chief of the Oulu-based KANSAN TAHTO, well-known as the main voice of the ax-liners, does not consider it inevitable that the concentration of financial support away from the provincial papers to KANSAN UUTISET would be the consequence of revenge for old sins.

Rautio believes that it is rather a question of the rearrangement of economic resources around the two main organs. He feels an SKP minority and the backers of Kajanoja are grouping themselves around the new party newspaper. "SKP's traditional majority is drawing ranks around KANSAN UUTISET."

The League of Democratic Publishers will make the final decision concerning the distribution of parliamentary aid for newspapers on 13 December.

The party's primary newspaper KANSAN UUTISET has already experienced the results of economic difficulties: there have been cutbacks in issues and personnel.

12327

CSO: 3617/50

RURAL PARTY TACTICS IN CABINET, PARLIAMENT HURT CONSERVATIVES

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 1 Dec 83 p 2

[Commentary by Hakan Hagwall: "Acting and Double Acting in Finnish Politics"]

[Excerpt] Since time immemorial, which in these connections might be said to be about the mid-1960's, government power in Finland has been based on the Social Democrats-Center Party axis. As a rule, the Swedish People's Party, which is prepared to be part of almost any government at all, has also been included in the government coalitions. For long periods the People's Democratic League, that is to say the alliance of communists and other leftist socialists, had a seat in the government.

Not quite a year ago the People's Democratic League had to leave the government after excessively rebellious behavior. Badly disturbed by internal struggles between various communist factions, the People's Democrats probably were not very upset at being allowed to straighten out their problems as an opposition party.

The parliamentary election in March was expected to be a great success for the Social Democrats. They were still able to enjoy the so-called Koivisto effect, meaning the popular president's automatic power of attraction.

It was also assumed that the election would be a great victory for Finland's conservatives, the National Coalition Party. This party had been excluded from government participation ever since 1966. The election last spring would be its chance finally to break its isolation. The party's tactics were to act moderately, even a good bit beyond caution.

Now, the election did not go quite as expected. To be sure, the Social Democrats triumphed, but the Coalition Party stood still. Instead, its anticipated gains went to Veikko Vennamo's Rural Party, which had been able effectively to profit from all kinds of protests, hatred of politicians, corruption scandals etc. The election result once more caused the Coalition Party to be eliminated from real government negotiations.

After lengthy discussions, however, the Rural Party was included in the government. The purpose was to neutralize the party's populist opposition.

The Rural Party would itself become part of the political establishment. The maneuver was intended as a death kiss.

But--so far--things have not turned out as expected. The Rural Party has successfully acted out a double role. In the cabinet, cooperation with the other parties is proceeding in a quiet and civilized manner, whereas there is thunder and lightning in Parliament and in the countryside. The founder of the party, Veikko Vennamo, has found the formula for coping with the double acting. This is what he says: "We do not support this and that government proposal, but we vote for it, because we have to since we are a government party." Then they can at will abuse the government publicly as much as they want to and at the same time reject all accusations of having abandoned their government responsibility.

This tactic has created mounting irritation in the coalition brothers, of course. To top it off, the tactic has succeeded as far as public opinion is concerned. The Rural Party is gaining in poll after poll. However, within Prime Minister Sorsa's Social Democratic Party it is said that nothing else could be expected--to begin with. In time the Rural Party will have its share of problems, say the Social Democrats. The Center Party, which regards the Rural Party as its arch enemy, is more worried and impatient.

The Coalition Party is also impatient. There they have no higher wish than for the Rural Party to become totally impossible as a government party; that would give the Coalition Party another chance, it is hoped.

According to Finland's constitution, a minority of at least one-third of Parliament can halt legislative changes until after the next election. The government is therefore forced through negotiations to establish a base in the opposition in order to accomplish what it wants. As a rule, budget proposals do not concern laws, but they might--an economy measure, for example, can require a change in legislation. This is why in practice even a budget must be broadly anchored.

This situation is both favorable and problematic for the eternal opposition party, the Coalition Party. On the one hand, it has traditionally acted with moderation, always tried to counteract the image of an unruly party; the Coalition Party wants to show its responsibility. On the other hand, budget compromises are seldom popular and conservative policies never. Cooperation could cause disappointment among the voters. Furthermore, the possibility that the Rural Party with its double acting might take advantage of the disapproval over the settlement, could make the matter even worse.

During ongoing negotiations some time ago, Coalition Party leader Ilkka Suominen delivered a violent attack on the Rural Party and asked the prime minister if one could really be sure that the entire foundation of the government, that is to say including the Rural Party, would adhere to concluded agreements.

(In general, it has been noted in Finland that the Coalition Party has devoted so much aggression to the Rural Party, that the leading government parties have escaped very lightly in the agitation by the largest opposition party.)

Certainly, the Rural Party could be counted on, came the reply.

But then Ilkka Suominen had an embarrassing thing happen to him, to say the least. After he had agreed on a compromise with the government, his own parliamentary group went and rejected it. This was in reality very much the equivalent of losing a vote of confidence for Suominen's cooperation policy. There are strong feelings in the parliamentary group for considerably tougher behavior.

And now it was time to ask whether Suominen could be relied upon. Could he negotiate on behalf of his party? This happened on Tuesday of last week. On Thursday, however, Suominen succeeded in patching up a new compromise with some Social Democratic concessions. And this time he got the approval of his own parliamentary group.

These events have not increased the prospects of the Coalition Party for becoming a government party. Kalevi Sorsa can probably count on governing for the entire mandate period. As time goes on the Rural Party is likely to be kicked out of the government, unless it changes its style. And the fussing will intensify in the Coalition Party over the party's appearance--agreement or opposition? In the end there will probably be opposition, since the Coalition Party has an opposing position, after all, and is likely to remain there.

11949

CSO: 3650/67

RESEARCHER ON MARXIST DEFEATS IN STUDENT, LABOR ELECTIONS

Helsinki KANSAN UUTISET in Finnish 10 Nov 83 p 11

[Article by Mauri Sirno: "Did Jobless Thank SDP for Their Own Situation"]

[Text] Tampere (KU) "I said at a seminar a few months ago that the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] should be concerned about the fact that more unskilled workers are switching over to the SMP [Finnish Rural Party]. The most recent opinion polls tell us that young people are leaving the SKDL.

"And it really is a serious phenomenon, because young people are always telling us something about the future."

Thus says Pertti Suhonen from the University of Tampere. For fifteen years now he has been studying the political behavior of Finns.

"We shouldn't see direct parallels as such between the results of the university student elections and the way other people vote. The low voter turnout only indicates that the university is no longer as important a forum as it was during the last decade, when the future of the entire university as an institution, reform and renewal in the area of research, and other universal problems were under consideration. Now it's a question of how membership fees are being used, how much goes toward maintaining the bureaucracy and how much is offered for cultural programs.

"I believe that many of those that remained passive in the university student elections refrain from voting when it's a matter of questions important from the government's point of view. In the critical surveys it would also be noted that 'politics' is indeed to be found in material organizations."

Suhonen does not believe in the explanations which were given after the metalworkers' elections. The results were explained in terms of both passivity and unemployment.

Suhonen asks a little maliciously, "Did the person out of work thank the SDP for the fact that he's jobless?"

"Some of the unemployed may, to be sure, not bother to vote because they feel the metalworkers' union isn't doing anything on their behalf. The trade

union movement would do well to get involved in something besides wage disputes."

Suhonen doesn't want to go out on a limb as a forecaster. "If you draw a horizontal line from this day into the future, chances are very good you'll come close to hitting the mark."

12327

CSO: 3617/50

KKE INTERIOR PRESS CONFERENCE ON PARTY PROPOSALS

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 20 Nov 83 p 2

[Text] The course of change in our country has reached an impasse. The mistaken choices in critical sectors, along with the promotion of one-sided partisanship, presumptiveness of power, factional spirit and alarm at popular participation, are sapping the new possibilities and not allowing democratization to proceed.

This was stressed, among other things, by the secretary general of the KKE Interior Central Committee, Giannis Baniias, during the 19 November press conference which he gave at the Foreign Correspondents' Union.

In the frameworks of his speech, Mr. Baniias criticized many sides of PASOK's government work during the past two years. At the same time, he stated his party's estimations and opinions regarding the problems of peace and disarmament, the economic crisis, the Cyprus issue after recent developments, etc., making the following proposals on behalf of KKE Interior.

The KKE (Int.) Proposals

1. On the Cyprus issue: A national policy, with all sides contributing, is necessary. In this direction, the KKE Interior proposes the immediate convocation of a National Council of all the political parties in Greece.
2. On peace and disarmament: Other countries from NATO and the Warsaw Pact should participate in the negotiations.
3. On the promotion of democratization: Newspapers of opinion should be reinforced, a law on the press should be enacted, television should "open up" to the parties and new institutions for popular participation should be established.
4. On a way out of the economic crisis: Democratic planning which has no relation to the eastern type of asphyxiating state planning should be implemented.

"Moratorium" With KKE

Referring to KKE, G. Baniias emphasized that its policy does not guarantee anything more advanced and democratic. And he continued, saying: "I cannot avoid the temptation of a timely insertion. While all the parties gave the PASOK government a fair allotment of time before coming to final critical observations, KKE did the opposite. It babbled bombastically at first and then, based on the "moratorium," kept silent about all the critical issues, particularly the problems of the workers.

PASOK, ND WORRIED OVER SMALLER PARTIES' ACTIVITIES

Athens ENA in Greek 17 Nov 83 p 12

[Text] The KKE Interior gathering in Omonoia Square last week, the third largest political demonstration after those held by PASOK in Syndagma Square and ND in Aristotelous Square in Salonica, had a special message: As uncertainty spreads about how and when elections for the national parliament will be carried out, the small parties are passing, on their side, on to preparations for the difficult electoral reckoning awaiting them.

This realization is proven by the recent demonstrations of other small parties from the parliamentary and Europarlimentary arenas, of KODISO [Democratic Socialism Party] and EDA. A common feature of the tactic applied by the three parties is the hardening of their stance vis-a-vis the other large parties--PASOK, ND and KKE--but, more particularly, the greater severity of their criticism of the government.

As concerns the KKE Interior, this hardening--apparent in all its recent documents--was even more apparent in L. Kyrkos' speech to the gathering in Omonoia Square. L. Kyrkos, presenting an overall picture of his party's positions, moved first, as is natural, against ND. With the ease and suppleness which distinguishes his oratorical speaking, he directed to the leader of ND, Evangelos Averof, burning questions, the toughest of which is: "Mr. Averof, why have you not implemented in the 30 years you have been in power all those things you proclaim today you 'will do'?"

At the same time, however, the KKE Interior Eurodeputy stressed that "if the leadership of the Right is lifting its head today, PASOK bears the responsibility." And turning the fires of criticism directly against the PASOK government, he charged: Two years after the 1981 victory, "Allagi has bogged down." Unemployment is increasing and inflation is being held forcibly at a level around 20 percent. The forecasts about investments are not coming true, the workers are groaning and small and medium-sized businessmen are uneasy. The institutional measures which have been taken--several of them truly significant--are being dehydrated between popular pressures to proceed and pressures of conservatism to stop and turn back.

KKE Interior's criticism is particularly distressing for the PASOK government as this party--by avoiding fanaticisms, partialities and showy propagandistic positions and extending its analysis to "both sides"--has an outstanding persuasiveness.

PASOK must have been pained very much by L. Kyrkos' observations about "PASOK's hegemony" and "presumptiveness of power," about "breaking the promise it gave before the elections about popular participation" in making decisions. "The people," said L. Kyrkos, "are shoved into a corner and scorned and there is indifference about their problems. In the centers where decisions are made, the bulkheads are impenetrable."

The dregs of all this criticism of the government's work and PASOK's policy has an epigram: "With its stance, PASOK discouraged the people. With its greenguard actions, it gave the Right the possibility of shouting for a pogrom and tearing down bridges to the simple conservative person. With the pyrotechnics of persecuting certain important industries, when the charges were announced before they were founded in an incontestible way, businessmen were terrorized. And with the "down with thieves" campaigns, to which the Right answers with the cries "down with liars," the country is entering the vortex of reckonings."

Equally tough was the proposal made recently by KODISO President I. Pasmazoglou at a conference of his party's Central Committee, as was the conference's political resolution itself. KODISO--a party also known for moderation in its decisions and criticism--accuses the PASOK government of "exploiting the people's trust, disappointing its hopes and governing the country without a program and with a policy of vague beliefs and dictatorism."

A totally distinct element in the atmosphere in which the small parties live at this time is, from another quarter, EDA's stance vis-a-vis the government--a stance which one could characterize as an effort to get away from guardianship, and which comes as the decision of its Administrative Committee to declare that it will bring its own independent candidates to the European parliamentary elections.

These phenomena are not, of course, something which concern PASOK only. An ascertainment which the others also should certainly make is that the smaller parties, uneasy in view of meaningful developments, are making their presence stronger--and impressive, according to certain estimations--in the arena of the daily political contest.

9247

CSO: 3521/96

RALLIS BOOK ON ND'S FUTURE ROLE CRITICIZES PASOK

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 20 Nov 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Andreas Zoulas]

[Text] Out of a description of the present policy and economic situation--which often creates the impression of the mysterious--emerges optimism about the future, from page to page, chapter to chapter of the new book by former Prime Minister Georgios Rallis, "Without Prejudice for the Past and Future," which was given to political writers on 19 November in a special program. The former prime minister's optimism passes, however, through a tough, and in many ways costly, process of making the Greek people conscious of the fact that by voting for PASOK they were duped. The disappointment of hopes, and dispelling of the illusion that PASOK knows, wants and can, are, according to Rallis, the only long term positive element offered by PASOK's exercising of government power thus far.

Without rejoicing--in fact, on the contrary--the former prime minister believes that this most cruel experience is the base on which can be supported a restorative course, with the awareness of wider popular strata every day that:

1. The pre-electoral offering of unrealizable promises in every direction is leading to an unprecedented government ineffectiveness.
2. For a restorative course, the future government needs, more than ever, for the people to have accurate knowledge of the real situation, which is not ensured by the present showering propaganda of disorientation, but is by the truth.

A second, equally determinative prerequisite placed by Mr. Rallis is the renewal of New Democracy in people and ideas so that the official opposition party becomes the pole of coalition for the majority of Greek people and, at their command, undertakes and effectively promotes the restorative work. Considering the coming elections a critical landmark, the former prime minister, beginning in the first chapter of the book, expresses in a careful way the opinion that--as the only party which can undertake the work to restore the country--New Democracy is not following the correct course for reacquiring power.

At the same time, makes the appropriate actions--stressing in this way that the official opposition party neither made, nor is attempting, the "appropriate actions"--it is possible in the next elections to restore PASOK to the (natural) political dimensions of 25 percent which it took in the 1977 elections. At the same time, he stresses that, under the same presumptions, a 51-percent share for ND, so that this party acquires a self-powered majority in the next elections, is not possible regardless of the electoral fluctuations of the other parties.

At the same time, Rallis does anything but avoid pointing out the danger of ND losing the opportunity to coalesce around it again the great majority of Greek people. He does it in two ways:

1. By pointing out in the first chapter the present extensions of what happened to the ND party in the period of its own prime-ministership and leadership. He notes, in particular, that one of the reasons which led to the 1981 electoral defeat--and, in fact, one of those attributed exclusively to New Democracy--was what happened within the governing party of that time. Relative to this, Mr. Rallis maintains: "The world saw that there was no accord at the top level of New Democracy and it heard several of our deputies speak out sarcastically, and once insultingly, about the party's leader or about its main officers. It was natural for this dissidence not only to not inspire but, on the contrary, to dishearten. And such feelings do not attract adherents, they repel them."

2. By designating (in the sixth chapter of his book, "Prospects") the renewal of the party in people and ideas as an imperative job for ND. Stressing that "people do not vote for ghosts of the past" (referring to extreme-right elements), nor do they consider the Chamber of Deputies a rector's office, he charges Mr. Averof with the "serious mistake" of giving the assurance that on the list of candidates for the next elections the deputies will enroll in the order of their election in 1981. And he adds: "The correct thing is for there to be a scrupulous evaluation, with favor to the younger people, for those of a great age (residual advisors, party Nestors) to retire, and for those who did not meet the requirements of their jobs as much as they should have to withdraw. An even more crucial problem than new people is new ideas--clear, lucid, serious, attractive and feasible, and all joined together in an organic program which will excite and persuade the people."

The Indicated Strategy

In the same chapter, which is one of the most important in the book, Mr. Rallis describes in detail and with clarity the strategy which ND must follow in the contest for power. It should be pointed out that the things the former prime minister says--and the way in which he says them--can be considered anything but commitments.

1. Weakening and neutralizing the supports of PASOK (and KKE) is the first strategic target. It is necessary to pursue achievement of this not only negatively by indicating disdain, but also positively with the ND program--a program "feasible, specific, complete and, above all, honorable." Mr. Rallis points out that, with this program and with the systematic informing of the people, ND must confront the

systematic defamation by unscrupulous Marxist propaganda. The former prime minister also notes at this point that precisely in this propaganda against the right lies the danger that the greatest percentage of disenchanted greens will become red in the future elections.

2. The third strategic target after disproving the propaganda, and the program, is the party's renewal. The former prime minister notes, among other things: "In order for our faction to find its glory again and reacquire its power in the electoral body, unity at the top level and in the highest echelons is required. A party of principles, as it wishes to be--and as its founder specified--ND cannot confine itself to the conventional subordination of cadres under its president. Nor can the president essentially do his job if the friendly understanding of his primary co-workers, and the collective recognition by them of his precedence, is not ensured." Noting that this does not mean that differing opinions should not be expressed, a process which is allowed and necessitated by the breadth of the faction, he adds:

"All these presuppose, however, a unanimous obedience to the process of consensus and a full recognition of the force of every collective decision. Above all, they presuppose non-existence of a spirit of personal rivalry and, even more, the avoidance of any business behind the scenes, away from the common discussion table.

"The continual questioning of the leadership's authority, especially with the undermining tactic of leaking information to the opposition press about disagreements and mistakes, or disclosures of secret discussions about political maneuvers and the effort for personal projection, are unacceptable. These all create a disintegrative picture of the party and disappoint the people who have placed their hopes in our faction."

3. The former prime minister closes his points about the fourth [as published] strategic goal mentioned above (renewal) with a weighty observation: On the eve of the twenty-first century, it is really tragicomic for us to continue to think empirically and act in an old-party spirit.

Criticism Against PASOK

Mr. Rallis exercises a well-founded and implacably revealing criticism of PASOK's government policy, on which the overwhelmingly greatest portion of the book is concerned.

After analyzing in the first chapter the reasons why PASOK won in the elections, in the second chapter Mr. Rallis devotes himself to "PASOK's anti-democratic mentality," analyzing the systematic interventions in syndicalism, cultivation of the climate of intolerance and downgrading and destruction of democratic (parliament), school (church) and other institutions.

Particularly extensive is the third chapter which refers to PASOK's foreign policy. The former prime minister stresses that the basic foreign orientations of each country are traced by permanent geo-political and historical factors. And he points out: "If the foreign policy comes into a collision course with the permanent and stable factors which designate it, the country would be in danger of getting

involved in national risks, with a serious likelihood of tragic repercussions." He notes immediately afterwards that PASOK did precisely this as the opposition and continues to do it as the government, with a motive, then and now, of partisan consideration (to win leftist voters).

Mr. Rallis describes in detail PASOK's policy on the issues of relations with the EEC and NATO, as well as on the issue of the bases, in order to underline conclusively that PASOK's actions have provoked distrust and cautiousness in the allies, and that the government's whole foreign policy has harmed the country's credibility and prestige.

The foreign policy, adds the former prime minister, must be exercised as it was exercised under New Democracy governments. It should not be dictated by Moscow or Washington, Brussels or Cuba; rather, it should be planned in Athens without petty partisan considerations and with the sole criterion being the nation's interest.

Mr. Rallis also makes a lengthy reference (in the fifth chapter) to the disintegrative results which government policy has had in all the levels of education. The final (sixth) chapter of the critical review of government policy Mr. Rallis devotes to the economy, pointing out that, while the more general international economic conditions have been more favorable for PASOK than those which existed under ND, the current government is leading the economy to an impasse and has created a crisis of confidence.

In all the chapters of the book, aside from the criticism he exercises, Mr. Rallis develops on general lines the basic strategy which the future government must follow.

Precluding Conjectures

Presuming that after circulation of the new book, conjectures will be written about his future intentions--as happened with the "Times of Responsibility"--Mr. Rallis hastens to refute in advance related publications by explaining in addition his intentions.

These are, in a nutshell: He is staying in New Democracy, he will continue in the future, as he did in the last two years, his effort to inform and enlighten the people and take the floor in the Chamber when issues of major importance are discussed. And he ends: "I think that public opinion does not have from me--at least at the moment--the demand to get more actively mixed up in public events. Consequently, it would not avail the country for me to undertake today a political activity different from that which I have exercised in the last two years."

Closing this brief--by necessity, under acute time constraints--presentation of the former prime minister's new book, we can only point out (though running a risk of this being subject to the pre-denials) the first thought of the book's reader; It may be an element in political developments. It is enough for it to be read... without prejudice.

HEAD OF 'NO TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS' STARTING ANTI-NATO CAMPAIGN

Oslo NY TID in Norwegian 16 Nov 83 p 14

/Article by Ingolf Teigene: "The Peace Movement Must Fight NATO Base in Norway"/

/Text/ "The danger facing the peace movement now is that the demands will become too abstract: 'Everybody wants peace, everybody opposes nuclear weapons.' Even Willoch can subscribe to that. An important goal for 'No to Nuclear Weapons' is therefore to establish a fighting front against integration of Norway into the nuclear strategy of the United States and NATO."

So says Berge Furre, former SV /Socialist Left/ party leader, who for many years has been an active participant and debater in the work for peace.

"We must make it clear that those who accept the nuclear strategy of the United States and NATO are in favor of nuclear weapons and thus opponents of 'No to Nuclear Weapons,'" says Furre.

Norway's Place in the Nuclear Strategy

/Question/ Does this mean that you wish to change the basis of "No to Nuclear Weapons"?

/Answer/ Not at all. What I have in mind is that "No to Nuclear Weapons" must now begin to make concrete its slogan concerning "No" to nuclear weapons stationed on or fired from Norwegian soil. We know that Norway plays a steadily increasing role in Western nuclear strategy. "No to Nuclear Weapons" must now analyze how Norway is involved, what kinds of plans and installations come into question and what the consequences could be in a crisis situation.

/Question/ What kinds of installations do you have in mind?

/Answer/ First and foremost the COB /Collocated Operating Bases/ airfields. Several Norwegian airfields are being made ready with spare parts, drop tanks, etc., to enable them to receive American fighter aircraft. The COB program is probably the most extensive and far-reaching intended for Norwegian integration in the nuclear strategy.

//Question/ But can this aircraft also carry conventional weapons?

/Answer/ That they can. But it is impossible for the Russians to tell the difference. And we know that American strategy is a nuclear strategy. Former secretary of state Alexander Haig stated plainly that American forces do not go abroad without taking with them "the very best weapons." And the director of the /Norwegian/ Defense College recently stressed that the military task of Northern Norway is to function as a link in an offensive strategy against the Murmansk area.

controversial?

/Question/ You are not afraid that in this way the peace movement may become too controversial and thereby lose support?

/Answer/ To survive, the peace movement must be controversial. The peace movement must of course include both adherents and opponents of NATO. But if it is to have a meaningful task it must join in the effort to change Norwegian security policy, which today is based upon a nuclear defense.

/Question/ On several occasions you have asserted that the peace movement must also begin to discuss the bloc policy. Doesn't this mean that you wish to get the NATO question in through the back door?

/Answer/ "No to Nuclear Weapons" has three main slogans, and actions and demonstration can be undertaken on the basis of the political platform furnished by these slogans. However, if "No to Nuclear Weapons" is to be an overall expression of the Norwegian peace movement it must also be a forum for a security policy debate in an overall perspective.

/Question/ What kind of debate?

/Answer/ A relevant question may be a possible break with the NATO joint military command system.

//Question/ But not the NATO question itself?

/Answer/ No. I do not want a NATO debate in the traditional sense. On the other hand, it is necessary that we have a debate on the future of Europe, on the division of Europe into blocs, and on the relationship between the struggle against war and the struggle for peace and democracy.

Nuclear Weapons Are Political Weapons

/Question/ Why is such a discussion necessary?

/Answer/ Because nuclear weapons are today primarily political weapons. An important function of these weapons is that by means of them the superpowers can keep their parts of Europe in their grasp. The deployment of new nuclear missiles in Western Europe constitutes an attempt to demonstrate American hegemony and strengthen bloc discipline, in the same way that Soviet deployment

of new short-range nuclear missiles in the GDR and Czechoslovakia strengthen the Soviet Union's grip on its allies.

The question of European right to self-determination and European disarmament are tied together.

/Question/ But how is the struggle against war connected with the struggle for peace and freedom?

/Answer/ In the way, for example, that the Soviet control of its allies is "legitimized" by rearmament in the West. Deployment of new Soviet missiles in the GDR and Czechoslovakia and political oppression are two sides of the same coin. On the other hand, oppression in the East is used as the cause when politicians wish to sell rearmament plans to public opinion.

11256

CSO: 3639/41

LABOR PARTY SAYS: CONSERVATIVE PAPER 'WHITEWASHES' HAGEN

Oslo (AP) (U.S. APT) in Norwegian 28 Nov 83 p 2

HEADLINE: "AFTENPOSTEN 'Whitewashes' Hagen"]

OSLO (AP) -- AFTENPOSTEN in its editorial column on Saturday made an extremely controversial move regarding possible future coalition situations on the extreme right side in Norwegian politics. The Conservative Party's main organ is beginning to speak for negotiations with the Progressive Party after the coming election in 1985 if the three present government parties do not manage to gain a majority in the Storting alone. The newspaper believes that the Conservative Party, Christian People's Party and Center Party must seek parliamentary support on the extreme right wing if this becomes necessary to prevent the Labor Party from again coming into the governing position.

AFTENPOSTEN itself points out, this is a hypothetical formulation of a problem but nevertheless not more unbelievable than that voters before the next Storting election have a right to be informed of how the three government parties will conduct themselves in the face of such an imagined situation.

The leaders of all three parties, Jo Benkow, Johan J. Jakobsen and Kjell Magne Bondevik, have in a sense already made their views known by saying that it will not be a question of seeking parliamentary support from the Conservative Party. There are, however, almost two years to the election and much can happen during this period. Still, we choose to believe that the signals which have been given are based on considerations in principle and are therefore independent of political conditions of current significance. In any case, we choose to believe that this is the case as far as the in-between parties are concerned.

Search for parliamentary support from the Progressive Party will be a clearly fatal move for the Christian People's Party and Center Party. In almost all cases of policy the two in-between parties stand for different views than Carl I. Hagen's. This was shown, for one thing, by the last duel between Jakobsen and the Progressive Party's leader. A political design after the 1985 election in which the Christian People's Party and the Center Party enter a minority government with the Conservative Party and with parliamentary support from Carl I. Hagen and his people will not be understood--neither by

The people will vote not by the people for their water. The people are
lower it might exclusively for power's own sake.

We will go on further on this line of thought, since we have confidence
that the agreements from Jakobsen and Bondevik today will remain in force
in 1995.

As far as the Conservative Party is concerned, however, we are not so sure
that Chairman Jo Bondevik's negative position will gain full support in the
party. AFTENPOSTEN's editorial is a very clear signal that the Progressive
Party is at the point of becoming "house trained" in these circles. There
are strong forces within the Conservative Party who do not want to reject
unseemly arrangements with Hagen if this provides the least possibility for
a renewed government contract. The many talks of coalition which came about
on the local plane between the Conservative Party and the Progressive Party
after the year's county board and municipal elections are a clear signal of
this.

In the finance debate in the Storting this month the Conservative Party had
a long advertised reckoning with the extreme right wing. This certainly
told heavily on the hearts of many within the party. We do not believe this
clash was the final signal regarding how the Conservative Party will conduct
itself toward the Progressive Party in the time up to the Storting election.
In spite of the position in the finance debate and in spite of pronouncements
from Hagen, we believe that the strategy the Conservative Party will
choose in relation to the extreme right wing in politics will be based on
an assessment of expediency and not on principles. There are such strong
reactionary forces within our biggest government party that we do not place
confidence in what a politically weakened party chairman might think.

It is the development in the polls in the months and years to come which
will be decisive for the Conservative Party's strategy. If it becomes
necessary, the party will not shun seeking the solution which AFTENPOSTEN
is now playing store by.

RHS

CSD: 10/19/90

POLITICAL

MANY LEADING CONSERVATIVES REJECT COOPERATION WITH HAGEN

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 29 Nov 83 p 7

[Article: "Conservative Party Spokesmen: Will Not Govern with Progressive Party Support"]

[Text] How will the three government parties behave if the Progressive Party gets into the position of tipping the scales in the 1985 election? In a sensational editorial in AFTENPOSTEN on Saturday talk began to the effect that we will then perhaps get a government based on the support of the Progressive Party. The idea has not caught on in the Conservative Party, which still has big problems in defining its relationship to the Progressive Party. Only Per Kristian Foss gives AFTENPOSTEN some support.

Per Ditlev-Simonsen, Storting representative:

"If such a situation should arise, I disregard any form of formalized coalition between the three government parties and the Progressive Party, but our system of government and the voters assume that majority situations will be created and such a hypothetical election result would still make it natural to have a non-socialist government. This would still be possible without its being at the mercy of the Progressive Party. The Progressive Party would hardly be able to overthrow a broad non-socialist government in favor of the Labor Party."

Sveinung Lunde, Storting representative:

"I see it as natural that the three parties continue the coalition which has developed even though it should happen that the Progressive Party comes into the position of tipping the scales. That the Progressive Party will not support these three when the alternative is a Labor Party government I regard as ruled out. Even if such a hypothetical situation as AFTENPOSTEN describes should arise, I see no reason to involve the Progressive Party in a coalition government."

Fridtjof Clemet, Conservative Party secretary general:

"This is certainly a quite hypothetical formulation of a problem to take a position on today. But if any opinion at all is to be had today at this time,

then in my view it would be most natural for the 3-party government to, should the occasion arise, continue as a minority government. In such a case this would be a solution we will not be totally unfamiliar with, and if the Progressive Party should come into the position of tipping the scales in the Storting, I presume that such a minority government would be preferred over a minority government by the Labor Party."

Erling Norvik, undersecretary and former Conservative Party chairman:

"I am much more involved with more mundane things than such a hypothetical question."

[Question] But, Norvik, AFTENPOSTEN's move is certainly not more hypothetical than that such a situation can very easily arise after the next Storting election. Ought not the voters to get an answer, then?

[Answer] "Yes, the voters should indeed get an answer. But I choose to announce my viewpoint in another manner than through a survey two years in advance!"

Per Kristian Foss, Storting representative:

"As I interpret AFTENPOSTEN, a coalition does not necessarily mean that the Progressive Party will be included in the government. And seen in this way I agree with AFTENPOSTEN. It is not impossible that we will get a government based on support from the Progressive Party. This is not a good solution, but it is better than getting a new Labor Party government."

8985

CSO: 3639/40

NEW LIBERAL PARTY LEADER WESTERBERG ATTRACTING NEW SUPPORT

SIFO Poll Confirms Trend

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 5 Dec 83 p 6

[Text] The Liberal Party is gaining support in Sifo's [Swedish Institute for Public Opinion Polls] election poll published in several Swedish newspapers on Sunday.

The Social Democrats gain one percentage point for a total of 41 percent despite the Rainer incident.

As many as seven percent of those polled--a total of 1,018 persons--say that at present they do not have a preferred party, an unusually high figure.

The percentages by party: Conservatives 28 (-1.5), Liberal Party 10.5 (+2.5), Center Party 13 (-1), Social Democrats 41 (+1), VPK [Left Party- Communists] 5.0 (unchanged) and other parties 2.5 (-1).

Altogether, the non-socialist parties have 51.5 percent as against 46.0 for the socialists, according to Sifo.

The poll was taken between November 2 and 22. Two major political events during the period were Rainer's resignation on 9 November and the national debate on wage earner funds between the Social Democrats and the Conservatives on 17 November.

Most Support Drawn From SDP

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 5 Dec 83 p 2

[Editorial by Olof Kleberg: "Liberal Party Attracts People"]

[Text] The Liberal Party with new party leader Bengt Westerberg's generally non-socialist profile is attracting voter sympathies. In the first IMU [Institute for Market Research] and Sifo polls after the change of party leaders, the increase came primarily from the Social Democrats, strangely

enough. In the November polls of the institutes, the IMU's in DAGENS NYHETER last Sunday and Sifo's in a number of newspapers yesterday, the Liberal Party grows all the way to the 10-percent level but is now drawing supporters from the Conservatives and perhaps from the Center Party.

Just how far the Liberal Party's reorientation toward a general non-socialist party will go must surely quite soon become an issue within the party, where they are still heaving sighs of relief over the fact that the new party leader has led the party away from the four-percent precipice. As he stated early last fall in his economy program and in his vision of the future in Goteborg the other week, Bengt Westerberg wants to forge ahead resolutely. There were also outlines in the party's proposed legislation last fall, for example when the party, in contrast to the Center Party, rejected higher capital gains taxes for stocks and demanded completely index-tied protection in the tax tables as early as 1985, the last year of the now defunct tax reform. The future of the cooperation between the middle parties is somewhat uncertain.

Other than that, what is most remarkable is that in both the IMU and Sifo polls the Social Democrats are holding their own, although at an unusually low level. The troublesome Rainer and PK incidents did not have any immediate effects (but could damage the party's image in the long run), and the attacks on the funds did not further reduce voter support. The Rainer incident might even lead to a general debate about tax morals and tax systems--which is needed.

The number of uncertain voters has doubled in the Sifo poll to seven percent of those polled. A large number of them are said to be former Social Democrats --making it all the more remarkable that the government party did not lose support in the poll. Reevaluation and uncertainty seem to be characteristic features of the voters right now, although political dividing lines seem clear. There is still a long time until the election, and the parties prefer to shape their own profiles rather than find common solutions.

11949

CSO: 3650/63

BRIEFS

COMMUNIST LEFT PARTY SUPPORTS ARAFAT--The responsibility for what now happens in Lebanon will fall mainly on Israel and the United States. But it will be shared by Arab states which fail their Palestinian brothers in order to obtain advantages for themselves. This is what the executive committee of the Left Party-Communists [VPK] said in a statement, and it continued: "The VPK vigorously condemns the attempts to crush the just struggle of the Palestinians. We are wholeheartedly loyal to the representatives of the Palestinian people, the PLO, and its elected representatives with chairman Yasser Arafat at the head. We are convinced that those who are trying to split up the PLO will fail." [Text] [SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 25 Nov 83 p 6] 11949

CSO: 3650/67

TURKISH-SOVIET PROTOCOL FOR BORDER VERIFICATION

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 21 Dec 83 p 12

[Text] Turkey's first foreign agreement since the formation of the Ozal government has been concluded with the Soviet Union. The protocol, which deals with the demarcation of frontier boundaries along the waterways forming the Turkish-Soviet border, was signed yesterday at an Ankara ceremony.

The protocol, signed by Ambassador Orhan Kulin representing Turkey and Soviet Ambassador Ratanov, provides for the establishment of a joint commission to verify the waterway frontier boundary.

Given that 330 kilometers of the 608 kilometer Turkish-Soviet border is constituted by waterways and that these river beds are subject to occasional shifts, the conformity of frontier boundaries to these shifts has taken on major importance, according to the Foreign Ministry.

According to the protocol, the joint commission to be established will verify the conformity of the current waterway frontier boundary with the demarcation of 1973 and will propose to both governments measures to effect conformity in those places found to be in error.

A Foreign Ministry statement announced, "Through mutual cooperation in this field that will benefit in preventing costly river studies to demarcate the frontier, the groundwork will be laid for new intergovernmental cooperation in maintaining the border.

CSO: 3554/112

DETAILS ON GERMAN-NORWEGIAN ARMS COOPERATION

Stuttgart MARINE-RUNDSCHAU in German Nov 83 pp 513-515

/Text/ Contractually arranged arms cooperation between the FRG and Norway goes back to 1960. In 1979 it was adapted to more recent conditions and restated in a revised text. Both agreements effected the most important successes in the submarine procurement sector and in cooperation relating to the most modern types of submarines for the navies of both countries.

On 17 December 1960 an agreement on cooperation in procuring material and supplies for the defense of the two countries was concluded between the government of the Kingdom of Norway and the government of the FRG. The text indicates that it said more about procurement of defense goods by the one country from the other and did not focus as much on cooperation in development and construction of weapons or weapon systems which are to be jointly introduced. There was a certain amount of cooperation in respect to the Penguin ship-to-ship missile which was developed by the Norwegian firm Kongsberg at the turn of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's; Germany was, of course, involved financially, but for very diverse reasons refrained then from procuring it. Since in the first set of agreements specific compensation values had been included to balance out procurements by one country from the other, Germany in particular gladly fell back on available opportunities for cooperation since Norwegian acquisition of major items of equipment in the FRG were in the majority. Thus, within the context of the 1960 agreement Norway acquired in the FRG 78 Leopard I battle tanks and 6 armored recovery vehicles, among others. By far the most important customer, however, was the Norwegian Navy which between 1962 and 1967 had 15 submarines of the Kobben class built at the Thyssen North Sea Works, Emden, following the example of the German Class 205. The development of this 207 submarine type was done at the Luebeck engineering firm, Ulrich Gabler, professor and graduate engineer in charge. The boats, which were adapted to special Norwegian operational requirements, have proven their worth very well during their period of service--otherwise there surely would not have been renewed cooperation in the sector of subsequent acquisition of submarines, a topic to be addressed later on.

On 27 March 1979 the set of agreements on German-Norwegian arms cooperation was adapted to more recent conditions and in partially altered form initialed in September 1982 by the state secretaries of the German and Norwegian ministries of defense. The cooperation which has not been agreed upon is to be accomplished

primarily in those sectors where the two countries have common requirements, where good prices and technical advantages can be anticipated, and where the long-term outlook shows that continuity is mandatory in order to be able to guarantee these advantages for a long time. The legal obligation for compensation, which was a substantive part of the old agreement, was transformed into a clause of intent by the two ministers of defense.

This agreement likewise provides for the establishment of a German-Norwegian arms commission; for Germany the representative is the chief department head for arms, for Norway it is the individual responsible for material for the armed forces. The commission meets alternately in Norway or the FRG either upon demand by one or the other side or at specific intervals which have come to be 9-12 months. Its task is basically to review the "current situation" and to discuss or develop future plans which are supposed to breathe life into the set of agreements and which conform to its spirit and content.

In the context of a further agreement, which was accomplished in 1974 between the 1960 and 1979/1983 treaty partners joint development of a conventional submarine was agreed upon. This development was implemented between 1975 and 1980 by the developer of the Kobben, the Luebeck engineering firm. While the Federal Navy initially fully supported the development and helped finance it, later on they parted ways. The primary reason was the pressure by the FRG for a drive which is independent of outside air--wishful thinking and an ideal of every submarine operator. The Norwegian Navy on the other hand stuck to its plans which ultimately resulted in the 6071 submarine project (German designation: Class 210).

In anticipation of the above-mentioned ratification of a new set of agreements Norway on 30 September 1982 ordered six submarines of the 6071 project with an option for two more from Thyssen North Sea Works, Emden.

The placing of this order is to be viewed as a first step toward extensive German-Norwegian cooperation in the submarine sector, agreement on which was signed on 6 September 1983 in Bonn by Norwegian Minister of Defense Anders C. Sjaastad and FRG Minister of Defense Dr Manfred Woerner. In contrast to the straight purchase of submarines by the Norwegians in the 1960's this time it is a matter of genuine cooperation which involves adopting developments by both sides into their own boats.

The most important points in the ministers' agreement (with editorial explanations) are:

--Norway will acquire (the order, as described, has already been placed), from Thyssen North Sea Works six submarines (possibly two others later) from project 6071 at a cost of about DML.1 to 1.2 billion of which about 800 million will go to German industry since the torpedoes, sonar equipment and periscope are also a German development. The entire project is to be completed by 1994. In the case of the roughly 1,000 ton boat, specifically Norwegian operational ideas--because of the fjords and the well-defined coastal waters--have played a decisive role in the design. The different design and operational requirements for the FRG Navy resulted in a different design (Class 211).

AD A/S Kongsberg Weapons Factory, which is operated as a private enterprise but belongs to the Norwegian Government, Norway is having a base command and weapon delivery system (Basis-FueWES) developed which is to be used both on Norwegian and on 12 German submarines, provided it conforms to the jointly established requirements and can be made available on schedule. Proportionate German development costs amounting to DM76.5 million (1980 cost base) must be repaid for the first lot of Class 211 submarines within the context of the FueWES procurement.

The FueWES is a computer-supported system which is integrated from the sensor to the effector with a central arithmetic and representation area for tactical plotting and decision finding whose task is to guarantee a high degree of total effectiveness in weapon delivery. Basically, by base FueWES we mean the central computer and representation area. The base FueWES is supplemented according to operational requirements by the complementary national components for the overall FueWES.

The FRG will develop and build in two lots a series of 12 submarines of Class 211 which is in the planning and will arm them with the Norwegian base FueWES. The cost of 14 systems (2 additional ones are planned for training) is about 1000 million (price level of October 1980). This program is to run until 1997.

The class 211 submarine, which is subject to additional requirements because of the overall operating range, the submerged travel range and the operational range, is, according to current German planning, to be acquired in two lots (first lot 1991-1993; second lot 1994-1996) as a replacement for the Class 205 boats and a part of Class 206. It might be 400-500 tons larger than the Norwegian Class 210. The Tactical Requirement (TaF) is in progress.

The FRG is completing the development of new torpedoes, the sonar system and the periscope in such a timely manner that they will be available on schedule for the Norwegian boats. All three systems are also being used in the German class 211 boats.

The torpedo which is to be developed at AEG-Telefunken in Germany is a further development of the current DM 2A1 torpedo. It involves efficient electronics, including torpedo sonar and data transmission. Even an improvement in the drive-out course, not until later--is envisaged.

The ASQ-21D sonar, from Krupp Atlas Electronics, is a device for submarines which was derived from the modular Sonar 80 system. A prototype is currently being tested on a Class 206 boat. Series manufacture is supposed to be possible in 1985, thus to be available on time for outfitting the Norwegian submarines.

The SREO 14/15 periscopes are German developments from Zeiss which now and until the end of the year are being tested on a Class 205 submarine. Here, too, the conditions are supposed to be right for series production by 1985 in order to fulfill the outfitting deadline.

On the occasion of the signing of the cooperation agreement the Norwegian and German ministers of defense expressed their deep satisfaction with the coming

joint work. There was the term "fair deal" which surely might also have ramifications in other areas, for example, the energy sector/Norwegian oil.

Mention should also be made of the fact that Norway will by no means be unilaterally a "burdened" payer in the agreed-upon cooperation, for both German shipyards desinted for construction of the Norwegian submarines propose admittedly good offers and compensation recommendations. This includes the offer from Thyssen North Sea Works with about 60-65 percent German-Norwegian cooperation in the areas of electrical engineering, machine construction, shipbuilding, underwater and offshore technology.

12124

CSO: 3620/114

NUMBER OF WOULD-BE ENLISTEES EXCEEDS CAPACITY OF FORCES

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 10 Dec 83 p 7

[Article by "peb": "Youth Stand in Line To Become Soldiers"]

[Text] The Danish armed forces do not have space for all the young people who want to be soldiers. The percentage of volunteers can simply not be higher, and the Armed Forces Command's compulsory military service section must say no to many.

Of the 10,420 young men who were drafted this year "only" 7830 were, to be sure, volunteers. But this is due to the fact that the armed forces always have to compulsorily draft people with certain educations for posts which require certain qualifications. For example, younger doctors do not want to be draftees for a soldier's pay in the Armed Forces Medical Corps. Navigators, mates and engineers as a rule would prefer to have a well-paid career job in the merchant marine than do service on a battleship.

Most Volunteers in Bodyguard

Automotive mechanics and electromechanical technicians are drafted for the army's ordnance corps. In the corps of engineers there is, of course, need for engineers. Therefore, the armed forces still number about 25 percent of conscripts who did not join voluntarily.

Most volunteers are found in the Bodyguard, with 92.3 percent. If a draftee wants to put his hopes on doing service here, he can enter in June 1985 at the earliest.

8985

CSO: 3613/59

REUTERS - BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 11 Dec 83 p 8

Thousands and young men each year go through the eye of the needle, recruiting, to various educations within the army, air force and navy. But it is not everyone who gets his dream of becoming something fulfilled.

...like in a dentist's waiting room, while a crowd of big boys keep
...up the light over the door which says "Next." Excitement mixed with
...some of them to fool around. Others sit silently with reserved
...The place is Armed Forces Recruiting in Vaerløse, and the boys, who
...of becoming enlisted trainees in the navy, are waiting to
...the selection committee and hear the verdict: accepted or not

On 11/11/71 from the entire country one evening around 2000 hours and were 100000 and filled out questionnaires. They received travel and food money 100000 and to bed in 12-man barrack rooms at 2230 hours.

...a little sleep but it was first after something like about 250 bad
...fired off," Carsten Rossen from Gram laughs and recalls the
...course in making a bed with military precision, "for I usually
...the spread." On the other hand, he believes that "you should
...not conform."

On the second day they were up at 0630 hours and had a health examination and a climbing test. Major H. Kvarnström, who has directed Armed Forces training since it became in common for all forces after the 1973 defense reform, prefers the term "trainability test." For the idea in having the recruits climb up a pole and lift weights is not to measure "how good they are," but whether they are good enough to become soldiers."

There are tests in the classroom. The "fellows," as the
 students call them, must demonstrate whether they can spell and read, manage arithmetic

problems and get through the intelligence test or draft board test without a scratch. They must, according to the major, show "whether they have a positive frame of mind in their skulls." The test is made so that young people who have left the eighth grade and pass are regarded as being better suited than the student who is just able to solve problems.

Instructive films describing life at sea are shown in the evening. An entertaining film is also run. In addition, the "fellows" can see TV and go to the soldiers' club or to the cafeteria, but they cannot leave the military area.

On the third and final day of the selection process the "fellows" learn something about the civilian education, which is the plum in the pudding which gets many young men and women to apply as enlisted trainees. When they have "been in" for 33 months, they earn 12 weeks a year of civilian education with pay and the weeks can be added up as required.

They also receive information regarding contract and salary terms; a 17-year-old's beginning salary is 6068.88 kroner per month. And then begins the concluding and serious part of the festivities. The "pronouncing of the verdict," which the "fellows" wait for with excited glances at the lamp, which alternately shines red and green.

"No luck," say some with a shrug when they come out from the decisive meeting with the selection committee, Psychologist Karin Storace and Navy Lieutenant Commander J. Christensen.

"I was accepted," says Peter Simonsen from Hørring, "but I have gotten sidetracked, for I would rather be a hussar in the Guards like my brother. I can both play trumpet and ride." The major thinks he is too tall but gives advice about what Peter Simonsen should seize on and do.

Desires Fulfilled, Dreams Shattered

Lars Nipper of Horsens is applying "because I have become tired of school." But he is being sent home to finish school and is taking it well. "We have not yet taken a fellow out of school," the major says. Johan Beuschau of Praestø has sailed before and has, just as Klaus Skovgaard Petersen of Åbenrå, his dreams of becoming the sailor in the family.

Each year 5000 young men go through the eye of the needle, Armed Forces Recruiting, with the dream of various educations within the armed forces. But they do not all get in. Not today either. The lieutenant commander is a strict judge. He will use only six men on 24 April, seven for July and four for October, and the navy estimates a failure rate of about 60 percent.

The army, which has a failure rate of about 40 percent, has just chosen the enlisted trainees who are to begin in February. The demand was 300 men.

Five hundred and twenty-seven came to be tested. Three hundred and nine were accepted. Twenty-seven others were found "suited" but are being saved for various reasons for another good time.

SDP WANTS TO BRING CIVIL DEFENSE INTO MILITARY PLANNING

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 11 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by Dan Axél: "Anker J. Advocates Compulsory Military Service for Women"]

[Text] The military and civil defense are to be regarded in context when the Folketing's parties negotiate the new defense agreement in the spring, the Social Democratic Party Central Committee believes.

The Social Democratic Party's chairman, Anker Jørgensen, is an advocate of compulsory military service for women--just as he believes that far more than today should be drafted into the armed forces so that they do not come to consist exclusively of professional soldiers.

"In that we now have armed forces, I believe in the old system, i.e., that as many as possible get to know them a little from inside through a period of compulsory military service. And this holds true actually for both men and women. However, this is not especially realistic right at the moment," Anker Jørgensen said yesterday at Christiansborg, where the Social Democratic Party Central Committee discussed a briefing from former Defense Minister Poul Søgaaard.

The Social Democratic Party will attempt to involve civil defense in the coming negotiations regarding a new defense agreement.

"Civil defense has been neglected and it ought therefore to be developed heavily so that the people are protected as best as possible against the horrors of a war," Anker Jørgensen said.

It was otherwise expected that Poul Søgaaard would have presented a written presentation which was to have been the basis for the Social Democratic Party's participation in the defense agreement discussions which are expected to start in January.

"Membership in NATO is still the basis of Denmark's security policy and it is also the basis of Denmark's defense, which is based on a broad defense agreement which expires in 1984," Poul Søgaaard says, who suggests more

concretely that the next agreement period be used for "consolidation" of the defense system.

By this he means that the decisions that were made in connection with the present agreement are to be carried out; ammunition supplies are to be strengthened; the outfitting of mobilization forces is to be improved--just as "positive planning" is to come out of the discussions regarding armored forces, air defense, ships and planes.

The Liberal Party's group chairman, Ivar Hansen, says that it is a "bad sign" that the Social Democratic Party has not published a presentation for the new defense agreement. "We have some suspicions that new cutbacks in vital parts of conventional defense lie hidden," Ivar Hansen says, who agrees with the Social Democrats with regard to the fact that civil defense is to be strengthened and that more draftees are to be called up for the army.

8985

CSO: 3613/59

INTERIOR MINISTER PROPOSES IMPROVEMENTS IN CIVIL DEFENSE

Greater Efficiency for Same Funds

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 12 Dec 83 p 10

[Article by Danish Minister of the Interior Britta Schall Holberg: "We Can Get More Civil Defense for the Same Amount of Money"]

[Text] Former Minister of the Interior Henning Rasmussen recently stated in an article in the BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that there are serious deficiencies in the civil defense program and said that an expansion of the program by providing additional funds is urgently needed.

I am able to state that I agree with Henning Rasmussen that a great deal of importance must be assigned to a civil defense program that runs well. I also agree that parts of the civil defense program are functioning well while there is a need for improvement in other areas. I also think that we are in essential agreement on the question of what areas are in need of a special effort.

Therefore I find it a bit disappointing when Henning Rasmussen and the Social Democratic Party, now that they have relinquished responsibility for the government, apparently also want to run the race all by themselves in the field of civil defense. As I see it, the field of civil defense is one of the areas where special importance must be attached to broad political support.

Henning Rasmussen's proposal that appropriations for civil defense be increased considerably right here and now seems to be a bit hasty, in any case. The proposed distribution of the increased funds seems somewhat arbitrary. Other areas within the field of civil defense are at least just as important and could have been considered with just as much justification. In view of the arguments that are used, it also must necessarily be noted as surprising that this proposal did not appear while Henning Rasmussen was the minister of the interior. He can scarcely claim that the needs that his proposal particularly aims at dealing with are of recent date. Instead, civil defense was cut back year after year while the Social Democratic Party and Henning Rasmussen were in charge of it.

In my opinion, a broadly-based, collective position must be taken on developments in the civil defense program in the coming years. In order for that to be possible, it will be necessary for some quite central and economically weighty pieces to fall into place beforehand. That is particularly true of the early-warning area, where a suitable basis for arriving at decisions cannot exist until 1984. The early-warning area has been the subject of extensive planning and elucidation work for some time now. To guard against the generating of myths about how the planning work is going, I should like to point out that the work is being carried out in conformity with the plans that have been laid down. Furthermore, the schedule for the planning work is evident from the civil defense report. The proposal for a big increase in the funds made available for civil defense must seem unreasonable and unrealistic in the present economic situation that prevails in this country, when all sectors of society are having to endure stagnation or cutbacks and when government-run programs in the areas of health, social enterprises of various kinds and education, for example, have to exhibit the greatest possible amount of restraint.

Consequently, consideration of the development of the civil defense program in the coming years is being carried out with the present economic situation in mind. Thus, our task is to find out how we can get better civil defense for the same amount of money by switching our priorities. In that process, keeping the proper balance between the various elements of the civil defense program will naturally have to be taken into consideration. Similarly, possibilities for bringing about improvements in the effectiveness of the program must be examined, and that will take place in all sectors of society.

In my opinion, these possibilities have not been exhausted. Thus, I suggested a reorganization of the civil defense ambulance service earlier in the year. That reorganization could make approximately 6 million kroner per year available that could have been used to build up a state of preparedness for chemical warfare that is needed, for example. That plan had to be given up because of opposition to it in the Financial Committee. At that time, I was confronted with demands that reorganization should be considered in connection with the re-examination of the civil defense program. That seemed to me to make sense, but an apparent abandonment of that view by the Social Democratic Party certainly is not needed.

When the Social Democratic Party applied the brakes to the reorganization of the ambulance service in the summer of 1983, that unfortunately meant that more draftees than is reasonable and necessary to take care of the needs of the civil defense program had to be called up. In my opinion, we owe it to the draftees, in general, since the burden of having to give up a normal civilian existence for a period of time is imposed on them, to make effective use of the time they spend in the service.

When considering the reassigning of priorities within the civil defense program, the fact that expenditures for civil defense purposes are not made exclusively by the central government must not be overlooked. Municipalities and private individuals also make significant contributions. Taken all together, expenditures in 1983 must be estimated to have come to an amount on the order of something like 650 million kroner. After all, that is a considerable amount in a period of austerity.

Therefore, as I have promised the Folketing, I want to issue a call for political discussions during the new year. It was my hope that it would be possible to bring together a broad majority that would be able to arrive at a long-term solution on the question of civil defense here, so that a much-needed period of quiet regarding the civil defense budget that would last a number of years could be brought about and so that there would be something to plan for.

Therefore I can only express my regret if the Social Democratic Party now thinks it has to run the race all by itself in this area. As a consequence of their doing so, we will fail to arrive at the promised solution. That can only be harmful to the civil defense program.

Wants Five-Year Program Accepted

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 Dec 83 p 12

[Article by Dan Axel: "Wants Five-Year Civil Defense Settlement"]

[Text] Minister of the Interior Britta Schall Holberg thinks that the reassignment of priorities should be considered for hard-pressed areas in the civil defense program.

Minister of the Interior Britta Schall Holberg (Liberal Party) is setting the stage now for arriving at a broad, five-year settlement on civil defense--a settlement that preferably should be completed by the summer holidays, the minister thinks.

"The civil defense program has been marked by uncertainty in regard to future appropriations for many years. Therefore a period of quiet regarding the civil defense program has to be created now, so that it will be possible to solve the big problems of coming years," Britta Schall Holberg says.

In particular, an improvement of the Danish early warning system and the strengthening of air raid shelters and preparedness for chemical warfare are needed, the Civil Defense Administration believes. It will soon be a year since that organization published a report that specifically designated a number of areas where there were deficiencies.

"The first negotiations with the various political parties have already been conducted," Minister of the Interior Britta Schall Holberg says, "and they will be continued in the coming year."

However, the amount of money the government will be able to come up with to remedy the patent deficiencies in the civil defense program is still not clear, but there are indications that the amount they can count on is not a large one. "Reassigning the priorities for hard-pressed areas within the overall framework of appropriations for civil defense must be considered. That must be accomplished by getting the targets of the overall civil defense program straight and working in harmony with each other," Britta Schall Holberg says. She also calls attention to the fact that the Civil Defense Federation will hold a conference on the future of civil defense on 25 January, and the political parties will also participate in that conference.

9266

CSO: 3613/58

POLL EXAMINES POLITICAL VIEWS OF ARMED FORCES OFFICERS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 12 Dec 83 p 2

[Article by "os": "Officers Are Conservatives"]

[Text] A political persuasion poll of Danish officers shows that the majority of them belong to the right wing in Danish politics.

The information comes from the journal FAGLIGT FORSVAR [Professional Armed Forces], which is published by the Army Association of Enlisted Privates and Corporals. The journal refers to a study made by cand. mag. [Master of Arts] and cand. scient. pol. [Candidate of Political Science] Hans Sørensen. Of 421 officers, 352 declare that politically they are to the right of center, while only 5.5 percent belong to the left wing.

Hans Sørensen finds nothing striking or alarming in the officers' conservatism.

"Generally, and this is true both in the East and West, the officer corps is characterized by a conservative view of life with a desire to preserve the familiar social status quo which officers have the duty of defending," he states to the journal.

However, he thinks that the strong decline in the number of draftees being called up constitutes a danger for officers' contact with the remaining population.

8985

CSO: 3613/59

STUDY GROUP VIEWING ALTERNATIVES FOR IMPROVING CONSCRIPTION

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 10 Dec 83 p 7

[Article by Peter Bergen: "Defense Will Be Rearmed: Soldiers To Be in Service for Longer Time"]

[Text] Extension of compulsory military service is coming. The armed forces command has appointed a study group which is to study several possibilities:

To draft more conscripts; to lengthen the period of service; voluntary lengthening of the period of service; and what is called "flexible compulsory service."

Both Defense Minister Hans Engell (Conservative Party) and armed forces chief General Knud Jørgensen have spoken positively in advance regarding an expansion. For one thing it will help the will to defense, they believe.

Lengthening of the period of service has been tried before. In 1953 it resulted in financial troubles when conscripts got a half year more in the service. On the other hand, voluntary lengthening and flexible compulsory service are new here at home. Armed forces chief General Knud Jørgensen gives an explanation in the journal RESERVEOFFICEREN [Reserve Officer]: "We think that some branches require a longer period of service than others. And we think that in a number of cases better service is gotten by a conscript's voluntarily remaining in a few extra months. Rather than an actual several-year enlistment contract's being drawn up."

Indirectly, unemployment is the background for the armed forces command's desire for more draftees. To an increasing degree enlisted privates are extending their contracts: "The turnover has been reduced and fewer soldiers are being trained, and we are having trouble maintaining a reasonably young mobilization force," Colonel Lautrup Nissen of the study group says.

The army especially needs more soldiers, since its strength is multiplied five or six times during mobilization. Two years of voluntary service instead of the usual nine months is a possibility, as Colonel Lautrup Nissen mentions. The study group is to investigate what this and other proposals will cost.

Out of consideration for the community's control over and contact with the armed forces, spokesmen for conscripts have several times cautioned against further reducing the number of conscripts. A totally professional army is not at all anything to aspire to, the conscripts say. But they certainly do not advocate general extension of the period of service.

"Enlisted privates are of course nervous that a larger element of conscripts will cost jobs in the enlisted privates' group. Enlisted privates are not included in the study group 'in the first round,' but they will be heard," Lautrup Nissen says.

General Knud Jørgensen: "I cannot imagine being able to dispense with enlisted privates in the modern armed forces. But, then, it is possible to consider an arrangement with enlisted privates at posts which require long technical education, conscripts with a short-term contract in the slightly less demanding jobs, and ordinary conscripts in the more trivial jobs. The navy and air force are quite technically oriented, but the army especially could probably be served by such an arrangement."

"Something must be done," the armed forces chief concludes with reference to the distribution of expenditures in the armed forces.

The armed forces expect that the solution will be found within the usual economic limits. "A new compulsory service arrangement must of course be endorsed politically and will presumably go into effect in connection with a new defense agreement," Lautrup Nissen says.

The present defense agreement expires at the end of 1984.

8985

CS0: 3613/59

BRIEFS

NAVY PERSONNEL JOINING NATIONAL UNION--The Central Union for Enlisted Naval Personnel (CS-Navy) would like to join LO [Danish Federation of Trade Unions] as early as the first of the year. At a recent congress, 70 percent voted for and a bare 30 percent voted against an application for admission to LO by the central union. LO secretary Erik Balle said Tuesday that there is no formal obstacle to CS-Navy becoming a member of LO with retroactive force. For purely practical reasons it would be difficult for the central union to attain membership by 1 January. Erik Balle said that he assumed that LO's committee would respond to the application in writing and it will be discussed at the meeting of the LO executive committee on 16 December. All enlisted personnel organizations in the armed forces already belong to the Central Organization of Government Employees (CO I). CS-Navy organizes around 3000 permanent workers who are not civil servants, while HKKF [expansion unknown] has around 8000 members. If the application is approved, the central union will be the 36th member of LO. [Text] [Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 7 Dec 83 p 7] 6578

CSO: 3613/57

DANISH COMMANDER OF GREENLAND ON FORCES, STRATEGIC ROLE

Stuttgart MARINE-RUNDSCHAU in German Nov 83 pp 500-510

[Article by J.B. Pranow on "Greenland and Its Strategic Importance."]

[Excerpt] The author, a Danish admiral and "Island-commander Greenland" for many years, with this article looks into Greenland's history, its present strategic importance to NATO and the contributions regularly made by Denmark to the upkeep and development of the biggest island in the world and to its population. Translator: F. Forstmeier.

Danish Military Activity in Greenland Before the War

Danish armed forces have never been employed against the Greenlandic population. Quite to the contrary: if shots were fired at all, then only for the protection of the natives. Originally, the protection against whalers and foreign fishermen and general assistance to the people was the duty of the Danish navy. Organized fishing protection was instituted in the 1880's. At the same time, the constant patrolling of the Greenlandic waters has become an institution lasting to the present.

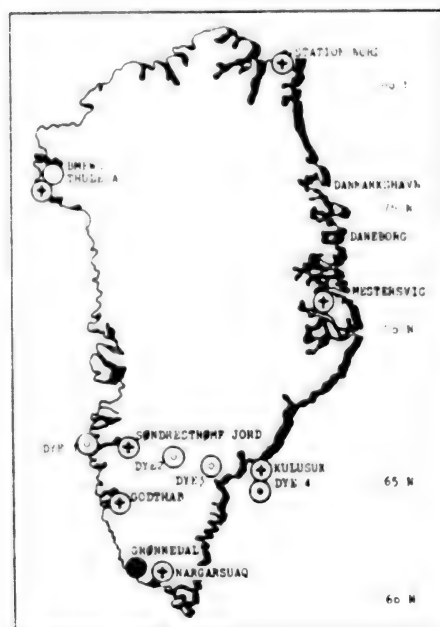
Between 1920 and 1940, Danish warships were in Greenlandic waters every summer. Since the twenties, the Danish Geodesy Institute has been engaged in a systematic topographic survey. Since 1932 Danish Heinkel seaplanes have been employed for photogrammetric surveying tasks.

Since Danish warships were stationed in Greenland only during the summer, no units were there when the Germans occupied Denmark in April 1940.

World War II

Immediately after the German occupation, the Danish ambassador in Washington declared in a statement that he will represent Danish interests, that is he intimated that he will take measures in Denmark's true interest without regard for government orders from Copenhagen that were possibly drawn up under German pressure.

[Greenland]



Greenland's two governors and two regional legislatures in a joint session sided with the ambassador's point of view. Starting immediately, the governors exercised the expanded powers that, according to legal regulations, were planned for the case of an interruption of the links with the mother country. One of the two governors moved his official seat to New York, where he set up a liaison staff; his colleague established a central administration in Godthab.

As a neutral country, the United States practiced maximum caution in military respect. On the other hand, Greenland was part of the American continent and thus belonged to the sphere of application of the Monroe Doctrine. Furthermore, the foreign ministers of the American republics meeting during the Inter-American Conference of Havana in July 1940 resolved not to tolerate any change in the sovereignty of the European possessions in the Western Hemisphere. Thus Canada's perhaps considered intentions to occupy Greenland in Great Britain's interest was foiled.¹²

Originally U.S. Coast Guard units were assigned to patrol the Greenlandic waters. The Greenlanders received aid and supplies through the Red Cross. With the approval of the Greenlandic central administration or government, the Danish ambassador Kaufmann then signed an agreement with the United States in April 1941 according to which the latter was able to establish military bases on Greenland. Based on this agreement, several airfields--the most important ones were Nasarsuag and Sondre Stromfjord--, weather stations, and radio and radio-navigation stations were established on Greenland's both coasts.

These different U.S. installations played an important role in wartime. As intermediate stops for refueling, the airfields enabled the assigned aircraft to fly across the Atlantic and large areas of the North Atlantic, so that these sea territories that could not be reached from other bases in the past could be controlled.

Ships could be refueled in the Gronnedal naval base.

German Attempts to Set up Weather Stations on Greenland

The weather observation stations in Greenland's inhospitable northeast were manned by Danish trappers and members of scientific organizations who spent the winter there in 1939/1940. This group of civilians was given military status and the designation "North-East Greenland Sledge Patrol."

The interest of the Germans in weather stations on Greenland was, of course, no less than that of the Allies. In the summer of 1940, German weather observation teams were infiltrated into the area of the Kaiser Franz Josefs Fjord and Kong Oscar Fjord as a "Norwegian rescue expedition." But they were quickly intercepted by a frigate of the Free Norwegian armed forces under British command.

In 1941 new German attempts were made to put down weather observers from a Norwegian sealing vessel. The above-mentioned

"Sledge Patrol" sighted the ship and informed U.S. agencies. A Coast Guard ship captured the sealing vessel and made prisoners of a team that had already landed.¹³ In each of the subsequent years --1942, 1943, and 1944--German commandos established weather stations on the east coast at approximately latitude 75°N.

The "Sachsen" spent the winter from 30 August 1942 to 13 March 1943 near Sabine Island. She was discovered by the "Sledge Patrol" and immediately engaged in battle. U.S. aircraft then bombarded the ship, so that she scuttled herself. The surviving Germans were rescued by a German Ju-290 aircraft in mid-June 1943.

Early September 1943 the "Coburg" was caught in pack ice at 77°N and finally came close to Shannon Island; from there weather signals were transmitted until the end of February 1944 before the station had to be moved. After repulsing an Allied patrol in April 1944, the team was evacuated in June also by means of an aircraft. In September 1944 the "Kehdingen" was intercepted by the USCGS Northwind before she was able to put her weather team ashore. A month later the trawler Externsteine landed an observation team near Little Koldewey. The team was discovered the day following the landing and taken prisoner, the vessel was seized by the armed icebreaker USCGS Southwind. But this was apparently the last German attempt to land weather observers on Greenland.

Activity of the U.S. Armed Forces After the End of the War

After the end of the war a permanent Danish naval base was established on Greenland. Denmark gradually took over U.S. military installations. The U.S. armed forces were greatly reduced. But in view of the rapidly deteriorating relations of the former allies in east and west, the Americans did not want to relinquish all base rights at the same time. The problem was finally solved by the United States and Denmark becoming NATO partners. A new agreement of April 1951 granted both countries the right to fix Danish-U.S. defense areas.

In the same year the Danish navy took over the Gronnedal base, that has since become the seat of the "Greenland Command" commander, in NATO parlance "Islandcommander Greenland."

In 1950, NATO's nuclear deterrence capacity depended almost completely on manned SAC bombers. Since at that time aircraft from U.S. bases were unable to reach targets in the Soviet Union and since Greenland was on the great circle between the

two superpowers, the need for airbases in the Arctic was quite obvious.

As a result the Thule airbase was established, an impressive constructional achievement.¹⁵ The base started operations in 1952 and takes care of bombers as well as aerial tanker aircraft.

The rapid technical progress had the effect that the importance of the logistic for the bombers having only rather limited range soon declined as compared to the new main mission to establish an early warning system against missiles attacking the United States from the Soviet Union. Around 1960 three large early warning stations were established, one in Alaska, a second in Great Britain, and a third in Thule. Thus Thule's role changed; it was no longer a base for offensive actions but an early warning center. Thule's complement, prior to that numbering 12,000-13,000 men, now accordingly numbers only one tenth of that strength.

To obtain early warning data concerning an attack by manned bombers on the American continent, the so-called "distant early warning line" that ranges from North Alaska to Greenland's east coast was built across the polar basin in 1958. One station is located near Holsteinsborg, two on the Arctic ice cap, and one in Kulusuk near Ammassalik.

Logistically the stations are supplied by the now Danish-U.S. Sondre Stromfjord defense zone whose complement is, however, smaller than Thule's. Civilian airlines also provide regular flights to Sondre Stromfjord and it is the main gateway to Greenland.

During the early years after its establishment, the Narsarsuag air base was the NATO interim stop for the transfer of U.S. combat aircraft to the European NATO countries. In 1958 it was handed over to Denmark and now serves as a civilian airport. Simultaneously it is a base for the Danish ice patrol service.

Activity of the Danish Armed Forces on Greenland

Although a permanent headquarters of the Danish armed forces had been established in Greenland, the Danish military presence was weak. The navy had a few small patrol boats (about 100 tons) that were based there. During summer a hydrographic ship or a former British frigate might be added.

In 1947, a few "Catalina" flying boats were put in service. They were used all over Greenland for reconnaissance,

transport, and patrol tasks and proved to be very successful. In 1970, four-engine C-54 replaced the "Catalinas." Later on the C-54 were in turn replaced by the C-130 Hercules aircraft. Since 1982, the Greenland Command has a "Gulfstream III" jet at its disposal that is stationed in Sondre Stromfjord.

The "Northeast Greenland Sledge Patrol" was resurrected in 1950. It is now designated as "Sirius," has its headquarters in Daneborg (74°N), and patrols the area between the Kong Oscars Fjord in the south to the Nares Straits in the northeast. During summer, the patrol used the patrol boats and aircraft, whereby it sets up depots and repairs their shelters, both of which are frequently plagued by polar bears. During winter, the patrols, each two men with 20 dogs, use sleds.

In January 1959 the passenger steamer Hans Hedtoft on her maiden voyage from Cape Farewell collided with an iceberg and sank. None of the 95 persons on board could be saved. A year later, in April 1960, the freighter Hanne 5 was lost in the same area, the entire 18-man crew lost their lives.

These accidents at sea glaringly demonstrated the fact that the "Greenland Command" did not have adequate rescue equipment at its disposal. Following the first loss, a permanent "ice observation service" was established in Narsarsuag in 1959. The service, which for a time was looked after by military aircraft, is now under the control of a field office of the Meteorological Institute and uses civilian charter aircraft.

The fact that since the early sixties a series of larger fishing patrol and sea rescue ships carrying helicopters have been built may also be taken as a secondary result of the accidents at sea.

At this time, the Islandcommander Greenland has the following units at his disposal:

1--Two units of the frigate type (1500 to 1800 tons), whereby each carries a "Lynx" helicopter.

2--Three patrol boats (320 tons)

One "Gulfstream" aircraft, Sondre Stromfjord base, the Sirius sled patrol group

As already mentioned, the "Islandcommander Greenland" headquarters is situated in the Gronnetal naval base that supplies the ships to a limited extent with the means available at the base.

Danish liaison officers have been placed with the Danish-American Defense command in Thule and Sondre Stromfjord.

Missions

Within the NATO command hierarchy, the "Islandcommander Greenland" is subordinated to CINCPACFLT. It is obvious that in view of the immense area to be patrolled with the few and weak armed forces--without help from outside--no military achievement worth mentioning can be made except for the patrol and support tasks for shipping and fishing as well as rescue missions.

As regards the internal Danish command system, the chief of the "Greenland Command" is directly subordinated to the defense minister. The main tasks incumbent upon him are described as follows:

--Supervision of Fishing.

This is the most demanding task, especially following the expansion of the fishing limit to 200 nautical miles since 1977.

--Search and Rescue Missions:

The "Greenland Command" is responsible for SAR at sea with the exception of the fjord and skerry territories where the local police is responsible. According to a Danish-U.S. government agreement, the U.S. Air Force is responsible for the air rescue service. But of course apart from the formal division of competences, the Danish naval and air forces are of course cooperating in acute rescue cases.

The "Greenland Command," the coastal radio station, and the police are closely cooperating within the framework of a reporting system on shipping that was set up to observe the entire shipping traffic; the coastal stations and the police are concerned primarily with the coastal traffic, the "Greenland Command" with ocean shipping.

--Other Missions

Ships, aircraft, and patrols carry out a whole series of additional individually hard-to-define tasks, such as patrol tasks, implementation of environmental protection regulations, transporting officials, support of scientific undertakings, liaison tasks with the U.S. armed forces and similar matters.

Greenland's Strategic Importance

In Greenland, thus far hardly any natural deposits have been discovered that according to quality, quantity or being developable would be strategically important, be it as sources of energy, minerals, or foodstuffs. The strategic value of the island is based on its geographic location. Undoubtedly Greenland's location is extraordinarily favorable for the placement of early warning stations against attacks launched over the polar region. As already described, the United States has fully recognized this fact and has prepared appropriate installations.

To fully appreciate Greenland's strategic value, one only has to imagine that the island were in Soviet possession. The early warning time for the United States would be dramatically reduced. If, in addition, the Soviets could operate from bases on the east coast and from Svalbard, the Soviet sea and air forces would be in a much better position to threaten and control the NATO armed forces on Iceland and in the Greenland and Norway sea. At the same time they could facilitate the protection of the Soviet Arctic Fleet bases. I leave to the imagination of the reader the outcome of a sea battle in the North Atlantic under such a scenario.

In my opinion, such a threat to the North Atlantic vital lines of communication would trigger the collapse of the alliance, since the Europeans could no longer rely on the ability of the great American nations to rush to their aid in times of need.

The Threat

In the book published by a Swedish so-called peace researcher, Paul Claesson, "Greenland, Pearl of the Mediterranean," the author asserts that the U.S. early warning stations on Greenland would have to have a priority place on the Soviet target list for nuclear attacks and that these stations therefore constitute a serious threat to all Greenlanders. Unfortunately this assertion is accepted largely uncritically even though the reasoning is logically false.

The U.S. stations were set up to be prepared for a Soviet surprise attack. A strike--especially with nuclear weapons--against the early warning stations prior to a general attack against the United States would of course be just as effective a warning as a radar observation by the early warning stations and a strike against these stations following a general attack would be pointless.

A strategy to obtain the airfields on Greenland's east coast made more sense. Undoubtedly the gradually increasingly clearer imbalance between the Western and Soviet naval forces--if nothing is being done about that--makes appear possible a Soviet seizure of the isolated, undefended airfields in Nord, Mestervig, and even Kulusuk; but even then the ice conditions and the climate would be difficult to overcome obstacles for the air and sea transports that would be required to develop the runways into operational air bases.

The real danger appears to lie in the possibility of political infiltration. If the reader reflects on the above statements on Greenland's social conditions, he will become conscious of the fact that he is dealing with a population of only slight historical and foreign-policy experience, a population that has never had to go to war and has never gotten to know the hard hand of dictators.

There is practically no objective public debate on security policy problems and the statements in a book as mentioned above are believed without any critical verification. Greenland's contact with the outside world primarily consisted of contact with a benevolent colonial power; nevertheless anti-Danish views are wide spread. The economic situation is unstable and mainly depends on Danish money transfers. Nevertheless Greenland has decided to relinquish membership in the EC and to do without the financial assistance coming from there. With all that, it must be kept in mind that Greenland has developed relatively quickly during the past 30-40 years, which has posed many social problems, but at the same time has transformed the country into a welfare state whose population expects and demands continuous improvement of its situation and an increase in its standard of living.

Therefore if the assistance from the outside--in other words primarily Danish payments--at the present or even higher level were to stop, occurrence of social unrest and a growing trend toward separation from Denmark and rapprochement toward a powerful state beyond the pole is possible, a state that may be happy to pay a price for gaining political influence, as it has already done in the case of other former colonies.

Fortunately it obviously has not yet reached that point. Leading politicians and well-informed Greenlanders have probably recognized that an association with Denmark best serves Greenland's long-term interests. Until now Denmark, despite its own economic problems, has carried the financial burden of assistance to Greenland. Not everyone in the West is aware of the fact that this financial sacrifice by Denmark is

a significant factor for the security of the West. Under a strictly military aspect, the Danish armed forces may perhaps be of little importance, but their presence underscores Danish sovereignty and solidarity with Greenland. They protect the Greenlanders' natural resources, though modest they may be, and they assist the Greenlanders in overcoming the hard climatic conditions. Thus they make the ties linking Denmark and Greenland closer.

FOOTNOTES

12. Iceland and the Faroe Islands were occupied by the British following the German invasion of Denmark.
13. It turned out that the captain of the whaler (Busko) was the Norwegian Hallvard Devold who had "taken possession" of the land in the name of Norway 10 years earlier.
14. The German trawler Johannes Kruess (400 tons) was nearest to the sinking ship and courageously fought her way through ice during rough seas in order to help but arrived too late.
15. The east coast airfields had only a sandy substratum. The runways are 1200-2400 m long. They are kept open year around by a numerically very small crew.

12356

CSO: 3620/111

THOMSON-CSF SEEKS U.S. MARKET FOR TANK-DRIVING, FIRING SIMULATORS

Paris ELECTRONIQUE ACTUALITES in French 2 Dec 83 pp 1, 10

[Article by H. Pradenc]

[Text] Marseilles--On the occasion of delivery by Thomson-CSF of the 20th tank-driving simulator to the Carpiagne armored force training center, near Marseilles, the activities of the company's simulators division were presented to the press. The simulators division is active in the sectors of civil and military aeronautics, tanks and electric power plants. Bernard Julien, sales director of the division, announced that the company has its sights set on the important tank-driving simulator market in the United States in particular and that activity in the field of simulators for the French National Navy is also to be of increasing importance.

Thomson-CSF, which ranks high among manufacturers of simulators at the world level, is eager to get U.S. tank-simulator business. This market does in fact offer attractive possibilities considering that up to now the American ground army has eschewed this kind of equipment to train its specialists and that the rise in the prices of fuel and ammunition should induce the military authorities to equip their training centers with simulators. The French company has a major advantage in this field with 80 types of tank-driving simulators (SCEB) in France and in a dozen foreign countries. What is more, Thompson-CSF has a bridgehead in the United States in Burtek, its subsidiary in Tulsa, Oklahoma, which could provide convenient assistance in the penetration of the American tank-simulator market.

This subsidiary, which employs 250 persons, has sales in America of about 100 million francs in the sector of military aeronautics. The company recently delivered seven procedure trainers for the C141 transport planes of the USAF. Burtek is currently working on an order for C141 flight simulators, also for the USAF. In a related connection, the U.S. Navy is in the process of taking delivery on a maintenance simulator for the F-18 fighter plane. One simulator of this type has already been delivered to Canada.

Sales of 500 Million Francs

Thomson-CSF's simulation operations represent sales of 500 million francs by the French branch of the division. Military sales are more than 60 percent of total sales, and less than 50 percent of sales is derived from exports. It is noteworthy that the company has 23 months of back orders. The decline in foreign sales of French arms has not dramatically affected simulator business, apart from a spacing out of orders, a trend that is also to be found in the domestic market.

Among the new business activities, equipment for the French Navy will be of increasing importance. Thomson-CSF recently delivered equipment for the new nuclear submarine training center in Brest. The first phase of the renovation of the Toulon training center is to be followed by a second phase. Moreover, in 1984 the French firm is going to conduct a preliminary study on a ship gangway simulator for the National Navy and the merchant marine. The company also has plans for a machine simulation system and expects to develop a practical simulator for operators of radars and sonars utilized in electronic warfare. It should also be noted that an Agrion airborne simulator is now being produced.

Since 1969

The introduction of tank-driving simulators in Carpiagne was initiated in 1969 with equipment using analog techniques and a black and white video display system. The second generation appeared 4 years later with a digital system. The most recent simulators were delivered in 1982 and November 1983. At present, 20 driving simulators for AMX 10 and AMX 30 tanks make the Carpiagne training center the largest in the world. In 1982, the center trained 2,300 gunners and 5,700 drivers. The equipment delivered by Thomson-CSF permits savings of 10,000 francs per trainee, compared to training methods used with real tanks. This equipment also permits the simulation of breakdowns, accidents or mechanical malfunctions.

The tank-driving simulator (SCEB) is in service in 10 countries for 10 types of tanks. It consists of a driving chamber which faithfully reproduces the driver's compartment. The simulator is mounted on a hydraulic system which reproduces the tank's movements. A mock-up with a scale of 1/300 representing all kinds of terrain has an optical scanner mounted on a slide which sends back color images of the terrain traversed to the driver's compartment and to the instructor's post. A sensor moving back and forth over the mock-up feeds data to the computer which, after processing, transmits movement to the training compartment in accordance with the characteristics of the tank and terrain. The instructor's post contains the teaching aids required by the instructor. The SCEB now being manufactured represent about a dozen types of tank. Thomson-CSF has the capability of developing computer programs for all types of tanks now in existence.

Thomson-CSF is now building two units of platoon-fire simulators (STP) which will be installed at the beginning of 1985 at the Canjuers Training Center

and the Saumur Armored Force School. This piece of equipment has three firing positions mounted on recoil systems and three instructors' posts. It utilizes a very high resolution color television technique based on a mixture of color slides and images generated by the computer and has 50 attack scenarios covering eight targets. Night firing with the TV BNL camera, an infrared or light intensification system, is available as an option. Finally, the STP will later receive a synthetic image generation system for training with penetration into the countryside.

Mounted Firing Simulator

Studied in cooperation with the ground army, orders for 150 units of the Thomson-CSF mounted firing simulator (STE) have been placed. This simulator is to be used for firing the AMX 10 and AMX 30 20 mm cannon or light anti-aircraft cannons. It consists of: a very high definition video display system, a movement sensor and a firing mechanism, all mounted on the weapon; an instructor's post; and a target generation system. A 20-minute cassette video tape delivers about 40 scenarios.

In the combat simulation sector, as regards the artillery observation vehicle (VOA), with which the French army is now equipped, Thomson-CSF will utilize the videodisc technique. This involves presenting an animated landscape to the observers in which they are to move about, select observation points and direct the fire of a combat unit. The videodisc will permit observation of the terrain in all directions and the operator will have the option of moving about to change his observation point. Several units of this type of simulator which is in the development stage will be purchased by the French army and eventually will be installed in a mobile trailer.

In the transmission sector, we should like to note three simulators for the training of operators at the digital telephone center of the integrated automatic transmissions network (RITA) were delivered to the transmissions schools at Rennes and Montargis in March and June 1982. Moreover, Thomson-CSF has received an order for a very sophisticated simulator for the Crotale weapons system.

Among the systems ordered from the simulators divisions are: simulators for Mirage F1 airplanes, Mirage 2000, Jaguar and Transall and SA 300 Puma and WG 13 Lynx helicopters. These simulators will receive daylight synthetic image systems. The synthetic image will also be used to equip the Transall simulator for in-flight refueling training. The Division will deliver to the Mont-de-Marsan center an aerial combat simulator with two stages (one-on-one combat) and with three stages (one-on-two combat). Two preliminary studies are being started on a complete simulator for a Mirage 2000 N reconnaissance plane, which will include a sophisticated daylight synthetic image system, and on a digital ground radar simulator.

8143

CSO: 3519/140

RPR GROUP ATTACKS LACK OF CIVIL DEFENSE PREPARATIONS

Paris LE FIGARO in French 23 Nov 83 p 6

[Article by Henri Paillard: "Civil Defense Exists...on Paper"]

[Text] Civil defense, which is supposed to protect the population in the event of a nuclear disaster, exists but unfortunately it only exists on paper. The Club 89, closely connected with the RPR [Rally for the Republic], will soon publish a very thorough article on this subject. It will give the comical yet harrowing findings of a very complete and tactical investigation of events connected with the nuclear bomb arriving to conclusions which, paradoxically, are somewhat reassuring in spite of the tragic nature of the subject under discussion.

The subject of protective measures against the effects of a possible nuclear attack is never officially discussed in France. Once a year, the subject is briefly mentioned in connection with the debate on budget allocations for the General Secretariat of National Defense [SGDN] which falls under the prime minister's area of jurisdiction. Mostly it falls within the sphere of activity of the Department of Civil Defense Affairs (ACD), one of the 11 sections of the SGDN.

According to recently examined reports on the 1984 budget, that secretariat has a staff of 20 persons who deal with civil defense including 9 people assigned by the Army. In 1984 and in the sphere of civil defense, the Ministry of Interior will address the issues of alert signals (installation of sirens and of radioactivity controls), assistance (rescue parties, clothing for reserve troops, gas masks) and shelters for the population.

The total allocation earmarked for all these programs is just 32 million francs. The speaker for the Finance Commission, Georges Transchant (RPR deputy for Hauts-de-Seine), states in his report that the 1984 budget allocations for civil defense has been cut back by 12 percent. This means that the overall state budget has been reduced from 64,094 million francs in 1983 to 56,090 million francs in 1984.

What is the Use of Sirens?

It is to the credit of the study done by the Club 89 that it looks into all the aspects of the problem and does it in an objective manner. For instance, a hasty survey conducted in the Paris region just asking people in the Fire Department, in the town halls and in police precincts the meaning of the sirens which are sounded once a month, was quite revealing: nobody knew their purpose. And that despite the fact that the book of instructions entitled "Knowing How To Survive," published in 1972 by the Civil Defense, lists all the various signals: five modulations are the signal to take shelter because there is danger of radioactive fallout; a 30-second continued pitch indicates that one can leave the shelters and that all nuclear danger is over. Here we have a soundly written booklet full of good advice. Unfortunately, it has not been advertised, "to avoid frightening the population." This is just one example. It is all the more amusing because in the sphere of civil defense France is certainly ahead in terms of theoretical and administrative organization.

According to the study of the Club 89 which was put together by James Albanhac, the project supervisor, 43 decrees, regulations and administrative orders have been adopted since 1959. These refer to air, sea and land defense and include matters of defense in the economic, industrial, food, health, social, broadcasting and transport sectors. Provisions have been made for job grades and insignias for the members of the defense corps, even determination of their equivalent military rank; their badges have been designed and manufactured. Twenty-five thousand badges were made, delivered and stored in a safe place.

It would be impossible to list here all the existing administrative measures but one is flabbergasted by all the minute details appearing in these documents which never went into effect however perfunctorily.

To Avoid An Exodus

Given this state of affairs, Michel Aurillac, chairman of the club, thinks that "public opinion ought to demand that the government and the local authorities adopt immediate and long-term civil defense measures. These measures fall into three categories: construction guidelines for apartment buildings and underground constructions; basic equipment for existing apartment buildings and constructions; instructions on how to use this equipment." Aurillac points out that these measures will not cost much, between 5 and 6 percent of what it would cost to put up a new building, which is more or less the estimated cost of implementing the anti-earthquake measures called for in the Riviera.

Now the real purpose of the study is to show that the population is completely ignorant on the subject of thermonuclear facts. Large part of the document is devoted to describing the explosion, the effects of the blast, the consequences of radiation, the spread of radioactivity. It shows that unless one is in the area close to the explosion, it is possible to survive for several days inside a shelter. The study makes an additional point: people

are more frightened when they do not know all the facts. What must be avoided at any cost in the event of a nuclear conflict is an exodus like the one which took place in 1940. People must do the opposite and take shelter.

Apart from comparison with other countries which will not be very flattering for France, the good thing about this study of the Club 89 is that it considers civil defense as a deterrent factor. The power of the bombs is not the only factor which must be considered. There is also the matter of holding hostage the civil population which can feel more or less threatened by the enemy. According to the Club 89, about 10 years ago "everybody thought that deterrence prevented wars.. With the Russians waving their SS-20 missiles, times have changed." The study notes that the changes which have taken place in the nuclear weapons and in the men who push the trigger are such that it is possible "to launch a nuclear attack against Europe from Russia or from the United States with an accuracy margin of 10 or 20 meters. The load could be made on concentrated radiation (neutron bomb)... in other words from now on it will be possible to destroy armies, missile bases, airfields and fleets while towns are spared. Or, more exactly, while towns are just grazed and to protect ourselves from such scratches is a good idea."

The study dismisses the argument which could be raised against the opposition party saying that it did not provide civil defense measures although France has been building its nuclear arsenal for 20 years. The Club 89 answers by saying that to have one's own nuclear weapons continues to be the best protection against those of the enemy, because "it makes them afraid of reprisals." "That was the first thing which had to be accomplished," the study adds, "and funds were allocated to build a deterrent force instead of shelters."

Times have changed, weapons have evolved and this is why new priorities have appeared. Now it is up to the government to consider these priorities. It must be done by whatever party is in power.

8796

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PLANS FOR JOINT CONSTRUCTION OF TRAINER AIRCRAFT

Athens TO VIMA TIS KYRIAKIS in Greek 30 Oct 83 p 14

[Report by N. Khasapopoulos]

[Text] The possibilities for the first joint construction of Greek training aircraft with third countries (outside of NATO) are being examined this week. Five senior Greek officers, including two technicians, are departing on Thursday, 3 November, for Spain to study the conditions for joint production of the "Kaza C-101" twin-engine airplane with the Spaniards.

The cooperation of the two countries in the defensive sector was agreed on during the recent visit of Spanish Defense Minister Serra to Athens. Mr. Serra had talks with Deputy Minister of National Defense Pavsanias Zakolikos, during which it was agreed that the two countries will work together to produce defensive war materiel. It should be pointed out that Spain holds the tenth position in the world from the standpoint of a war industry and is considered one of the countries with an up-to-date technology.

According to military sources, the present policy of the armed forces in the sector of armaments is for our country to collaborate as much as possible with other advanced countries to secure the necessary war materiel. The diverse and many-sided cooperation of small countries for production of defensive arms weakens Greece's dependence on specific countries for production, decreases unemployment and, for the most part, a savings in exchange is obtained.

"If this cooperation, which we believe will be fruitful, proceeds," says Deputy Minister of National Defense Pavsanias Zakolikos, "then Greece will secure the highest possible self-power in the production of war materiel."

Greek specialists will examine with their Spanish colleagues what parts of this advanced airplane could be constructed in Greece, the possibilities of its maintenance, etc. In addition to the "Kaza C-101," which is considered the ideal airplane for every training flight and at the same time can be used as a reconnaissance, photographic and escort aircraft and for attacks against emergency targets, the Greek experts are interested in joint production of other advanced-technology weapons.

More specifically, they are interested in joint production of multiple rocket launchers and in a rubber-tired armored personnel carrier tank. The Spaniards have already shown an active interest in cooperating with the Greeks to produce these weapons in Greece.

ARMED FORCES CHIEF: BUDGET CONSTRAINTS MAY ALTER DRAFT

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 30 Nov 83 p 7

[Article by Gunnar A. Johansen: "Conscription Down"]

[Text] Defense Department Chief General Sverre Hauge does not rule out the fact that it can become topical to transfer a large number of enlisted men to the National Guard after three months of basic training.

The reason is the big cutbacks in the Defense Department's operating budget. "Selective drafting can also be a possibility," Defense Department Chief Hauge tells ARBEIDERBLADET.

He emphasizes, however, that for the time being none of these options have been evaluated. But in comparison with this year, next year 1600 fewer 18-year-olds will be inducted into the armed forces.

"The figure can appear high. But if we take into consideration the fact that this year there are 1000 more enlisted men than normally, the reduction is not menacingly high. But it is quite obvious that it can become necessary to pay attention to the permanence of the service."

[Question] What options can come into question, then?

[Answer] "A possibility is to return to the arrangement we had in the beginning of the 70's, when a large number of enlisted men were transferred to the National Guard after three months of basic training. This is not a favorable solution. The National Guard is also not especially enthusiastic about this arrangement. Another possibility is to enter the arrangement they have in Sweden, with selective drafting. For example, a man who is to be a cook does not necessarily have to be in for 15 months," Hauge says.

In the last issue of FORSVARETS FORUM [Armed Forces Forum] Military Commissioner General Admiral Ivar Wendelborg began speaking of reducing investment in new materiel in favor of drafting of more enlisted men. He points out, for one thing, that the armed forces are contributing to increasing unemployment among youth by not taking them in for first-time service.

Defense Department Chief Hauge tells ARBEIDERBLADET that the pace of investment in equipment and materiel in the armed forces cannot fluctuate in pace with the job market situation.

"A reduction on the investment side today will be able to have significance for several years to come. In my opinion the judgement should rather be made to use a portion of employment funds in such a way that more youth can get their first-time service time in," Hauge tells ARBEIDERBLADET.

8985

CSO: 3639/40

ARMED FORCES CONDUCTED SUB HUNT NEAR OLDERFJORD AFTER SIGHTING

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 5 Nov 83 p 9

[Article by Terje Myklevoll and Ola Solvang: "Submarine Visits Porsanger"]

[Text] Norwegian armed forces were searching throughout the afternoon and evening of Friday for a possible foreign submarine in Porsangerfjord, Finnmark. The search began Friday morning after police received reports that a husband and wife had spotted a submarine conning tower out near the Olderfjord inlet about 6 miles from Lakselv.

An Orion plane from Andoya together with the coast guard vessel "Stalbas" were engaged in the hunt for a possible foreign submarine until Friday evening. Anders Mork, North-Norway Defense Command information officer, told FINNMARK DAGBLAD that no foreign submarine had been detected along the floor of Porsangerfjord last Friday. Nevertheless, they have decided to continue the search.

It was 11:55 Friday morning when the couple sighted what they are 100 percent certain was a submarine near the surface close to the Olderfjord inlet. There was sense driving snow in the area when the sighting was made and the couple spotted the submarine conning tower when they came to a sudden stop. The couple, who made the observation from a car, immediately contacted the sheriff's office in Porsanger when they arrived in Lakselv. Sheriff's officer Terje Olsen told FINNMARK DAGBLAD that they immediately contacted the chief of police in West Finnmark. He, in turn, got in touch with the North-Norway Defense Command near Reitan. From there, a surveillance plane was requisitioned from Andoya Air Base. The submarine base personnel at Reitan immediately considered which vessel to engage in the search and it became clear that the only one capable of getting to the area within a reasonable length of time would be the coast guard vessel "Stalbas."

Porsanger sheriff's officers were dispatched to the Olderfjord-Smorfjord area to talk to people who had been outside at the time of the sighting.

The garrison at Porsanger had just concluded a big military maneuver in the area where a possible foreign submarine was observed yesterday. It is natural

to assume that it was this maneuver which was the focus of interest for a possible foreign submarine.

Garrison Chief, Lieutenant Colonel Terje Barr told FINNMARK DAGBLAD that there was nothing special about the maneuver and that, for the most part, it followed the general outline of such garrison maneuvers. Helicopters as well as heavy vehicles were engaged in the maneuver, which lasted from Monday to Thursday last week.

There have been earlier sightings in the Smorfjord-Olderjord area, indicating possible foreign submarines. The last time an unidentified vessel was sighted during the early morning hours of 6 April this year.

8952

CSO: 3639/32

OFFICER CORPS ASKS GOVERNMENT ABOUT POSSIBLE KILLING OF SUB CREWS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 31 Oct 83 p 24

[Article by Vesa Santavuori: "Swedish Officer Corps Experiencing Twinges of Conscience"]

[Text] Stockholm--Sweden's officer corps has suddenly experienced twinges of conscience amidst peace marches and antiwar protests. "Are we in danger of acquiring the reputation of murderers," asks the soldiers' professional journal OFFICERSTIDNINGEN.

The neutral Swedish officer corps is namely afraid that in some future crisis they will have to destroy a foreign submarine with its crew.

Will the officer who gives the command to destroy the submarine and will the soldiers who execute the command then be called murderers, OFFICERSTIDNINGEN asks Swedish Foreign Minister Lennard Bodstrom.

The answer freely stated is as follows: Guard our borders in peace, a soldier who kills another soldier will not be considered a murderer. It will be a question of murder only if you begin to massacre civilians.

The officer corps turned to Bodstrom in this matter of conscience for the reason that the foreign minister expressed strong condemnation of Soviet soldiers as the result of the shooting down of the South Korean aircraft earlier this fall.

At that time Bodstrom stated: "The officer issuing the command to shoot down the aircraft as well as the pilot pulling the trigger were nothing more than murderers. They were murderers."

The professional journal of the Swedish officers is especially angry at the fact that Foreign Minister Bodstrom places part of the responsibility on the pilot, "who only carried out the command".

The journal considers the statement to be so aggravating from the point of view of the officer corps that it is intended to bring the matter up in November in the discussions to be held with Defense Minister Anders Thunborg.

OFFICERSTIDNINGEN also demands that Foreign Minister Bodstrom retract his statement in its entirety. Bodstrom, however, does not intend to take back even one word of his condemnation.

"If Sweden's officers believe they are defending their professional honor in some way, they are completely in the wrong," stated Bodstrom in a recent interview given to DAGENS NYHETER. "The officers are making themselves the object of ridicule," says Bodstrom.

In his opinion there is nothing that can justify the fact that soldiers are shooting down defenseless civilians. Bodstrom also states that he has "only contempt" for such blind obedience which provokes soldiers to murder hundreds of civilians with a clean conscience.

"If Swedish soldiers received a command to shoot down a civilian aircraft which is in Swedish airspace, then in my opinion the soldiers should refuse to execute such a command," emphasizes Bodstrom.

In his opinion there is also no reason to take seriously the argument according to which the pilot who shot down the Korean aircraft thought the aircraft was on a spy mission.

"I proceed from the premise that soldiers are able to differentiate between a civilian aircraft and a military aircraft," states Bodstrom.

Does the same obligation to disobey a command apply to Swedish soldiers when it is a question of destroying submarines in Swedish waters?

"Not at all. I assume that there are no civilians in a foreign submarine that has encroached on Swedish territorial waters," confirms Foreign Minister Bodstrom.

10576

CSO: 3617/36

BUDGETING CONSTRAINTS CAUSING HAVOC IN LONG-RANGE PLANNING

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 2 Dec 83 p 2

[Commentary by Mats Svegfors: "Anarchy in Defense Planning"]

[Text] The Swedish defense is governed by a very advanced planning system. Every 5 years Parliament makes a defense decision, which is then given a fine-tuning against the background of the running program planning carried out during the five-year periods.

The defense decisions are based on the defense committees, which in turn base themselves on the research work undertaken by the overall defense authorities. On the part of the military defense, this takes place primarily by means of the so-called perspective planning.

The meaning of this system of planning is that preparations for the next defense decision in 1987 are now under way. As early as 1982 the government issued directives for the first preparatory studies for the defense decision. That means that preparations for the next defense decision begin the moment a defense decision is made.

The long-range element in defense planning is of course conditioned chiefly by the fact that such large portions of the defense resources are tied down by advanced weapons systems. Once a decision has been made for a new weapons system, it means that a decision has been made for expenditures in the multi-million category. There is in practice no room for fitfulness in planning.

Despite this, we experienced precisely such fitfulness during the last year. Last year's defense decision was in effect reformulated as early as last spring. After that, the preconditions were further changed because resources were not granted the defense forces to the extent necessary in order to fulfill the 1983 (!) defense decision.

According to the accounting submitted by the commander in chief to the government yesterday, there are on the order of five billion kronor too little over the program period to be able to implement the defense decision most recently made.

The altered defense-political orientation, which will be imposed unless the necessary funds are made available, is not a result of the defense-political planning. On the contrary, the far-reaching savings in the defense area mean that the planning system has been abandoned in essential respects. This will bring not only vagueness but also genuine uncertainty concerning what defense we will actually have.

Due to the anarchy which is in the process of replacing the defense planning, we risk losing the chances for a reevaluation of the defense policy which would be motivated from a financial as well as a defense-political aspect.

In recent times it is above all reevaluation in a very significant respect which would produce both economic and defense-political advantages. Essential parts of the distinction between wartime and peacetime organization which now exist in large areas of the defense have begun to be questioned. In the long run a different structure in this respect could give us a defense which might perhaps be cheaper and above all more suitable for dealing with the new type of crisis which is visible on the horizon.

The meaning of the reevaluation could, in a brief summary, be as follows: The peacetime organization could be constructed so that certain units would also create some kind of mini-wartime organization. This would then consist of professional officers and portions of the age group of conscripts which is undergoing basic training. In addition to these peacetime units aimed at operative goals, there would be just training units.

A very significant result of the indicated change would be that Swedish preparedness would improve considerably without any mobilization having to take place.

Thoughts in this direction have been discussed for some time. They were most recently developed by Bror Stefenson, chief of the Defense Staff, in a speech to the Royal Academy of Military Sciences. According to Stefenson, this type of reflection is included in the research work now being carried out by the military authorities with a view to the next defense decision.

Corresponding ideas are also expressed in the directives for the panel studying conscription which was appointed last summer. In these directives the need for readiness is emphasized; for example, if a new submarine incident were to develop into a more pronounced crisis, we would have good readiness without partial or general mobilization.

These thoughts of bringing the peacetime and wartime organizations closer have been most clearly expressed by Bror-Johan Geijer, who at present is serving as a military advisor to the Swedish UN mission.

According to Geijer's sketch, what he calls readiness units would consist of about 20,000 men. Of these, 4,000 would be taken from the corps of career officers we have today. The others should be taken from the age group of conscripts which has been called up for training. About three-fourths of the units would be strictly readiness units, located in upper Norrland, east-

central Sweden, Gotland, the Goteborg area and in Scania. The remaining 4,000 men would be included in special units, which would mainly contribute to an improvement in the readiness of the leadership organization, which constitutes an exceedingly important part of better readiness for critical situations.

Geijer's sketch must of course be viewed as just a sketch. It has also been questioned. Above all his conclusion that on the order of 20 peacetime units could be disbanded as a result of the changed organization has been criticized. Nevertheless, even those who doubt the savings effect are greatly interested, because there is agreement that in our defense policy we must reckon with a new type of crisis for which our present defense is not fully adapted.

Here lies perhaps the truly interesting part of the new defense discussion which has sprung up. Under the impression of the altered strategic situation in our part of Europe, one of the holiest dogmas of our defense policy has been questioned; it is not at all certain that the most likely incidents of crisis or attack will mean that we can count on a long advance warning time. In fact, it may be said, the military situation is beginning to be so aggravated in Europe that the boundary between normal condition and crisis situation can be difficult to distinguish. The tangible changes which would trigger mobilization might not be very tangible.

Obviously, the submarine violations have had a great impact on the discussion about better protection against incidents. Despite all assurances to the contrary, Sweden's security-political situation has changed. This is now causing the commander in chief to follow new trains of thought. It should also affect the shortsighted decisions taken in defense policy, so that we will not lose the opportunities in the long run to have a better defense at a proportionately more reasonable cost.

11949

CSO: 3650/67

GENERAL URGES GREATER STRATEGIC THINKING IN DEFENSE PLANS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 5 Dec 83 p 2

[Op ed article by Major General Carl Bjoreman: "Armed Forces Need Strategic Thinking"]

[Text] What the armed forces need is not "better" long-range planning of the traditional type but strategic thinking which provides a foundation for sufficiently guiding decisions. The strategic questions about goals and preconditions must be studied before the shuffling of the figures begins in the planning. Otherwise the intellectual crisis of the armed forces is far worse than its economic crisis. This is what Major General Carl Bjoreman, chief of staff of the southern military command area, writes.

Hans Lindblad has long had a fixed idea: The armed forces need the death of another regiment, m/1925. He has not made any secret of it. This idea has now assumed concrete forms. He presented it in the October 15 issue of DAGENS NYHETER. So much the better--and so much the worse! So much for the better, because his idea and his arguments can now be discussed and evaluated. So much the worse, because the article will probably help focus an in itself necessary debate on the wrong issues, because Lindblad's proof of his theses is weak.

When he asserts that disbanding the tank regiment in Hassleholm would make tank training in Scania not only cheaper but better, this shows in a flash that he does not want to grasp the significance which the professional officer corps of a regiment has on the quality of brigades and other qualified wartime units. One could willingly concede that Lindblad's reasoning regarding air defense is constructive. But the positive elements of his article are completely overshadowed, because all told he proposes such extensive cuts without even accounting for the overall consequences, neither as regards the wartime organization, nor the social consequences nor the magnitude of the actual savings. About the latter, Lindblad says when making his final point that the savings are not sufficient. What might follow that?

The crisis in the armed forces is much too complicated to be solved with such simple measures as those indicated by Hans Lindblad. More constructive thinking is needed.

The pressure on the armed forces is not only financial, to be sure. The security-political situation is growing worse, in the respect that security-political means must nowadays be used more frequently on an everyday basis. This involves not only submarine hunting. The increasing interest shown by the major powers in the Nordic area means that an even more essential demand becomes important. In this new situation, can the Swedish defense forces demonstrate their capability not only to initiate but also to complete a defense operation? That is the only way they can protect us from peacetime pressure and exercise a stabilizing influence. In peacetime our defense against an invasion must continually be able to prove both that it is just as prepared for action as before and that it has the same staying power as in the preceding decades. Above all, this required good training and well executed exercises.

Simultaneously, the real economic buying power of the armed forces is declining.

We therefore have two distinct new features in today's situation: One, increasing demands on the armed forces as a visible security-political element of the everyday and the present, and, two, an economic crisis. This cannot be accomplished with the methods of yesterday.

For "long-term planning," which has garnered so much praise in Sweden, seems to have become rigid in its forms. To be sure, it has produced qualified weapons systems at low cost. However, in the past the planners were able to make it easier for themselves, utilizing the fact that the armed forces were intended for deployment only in a distant future. In that kind of situation all planning tends to seek starting points which are as fixed as possible--otherwise the very act of planning becomes more difficult. But in so doing it acquires a static quality.

An organization which has static planning in a dynamic situation usually has only two alternatives for the solution of the crisis: Adding resources or cutting back the primary activity. These are the classical signs that the organization is in a vicious circle.

The solutions are sought only on an "operational" level, instead of primarily looking for them on a strategic one, that is to say within the preconditions of the activity. This prevents a clarification of the relationship between organization and situation for the purpose of breaking out of the vicious circle.

When the planning chiefs of the Defense Staff and the defense branches expound on our planning situation and the commander in chief's program plan for 1984-89 in VART FORSVAR, no 6 (6 October 1983), they emphasize the need for additional resources. The only alternative indicated is to cut back on the activity. Only one of the four speaks of a third alternative, of more radical measures. But he does not elaborate on the values that are to govern a radical change. The lack of such criteria leads to an overevaluation of precisely those partial issues which are currently important, to "one-issue discussions" and to "free-for-all" debates about the shrinking economic means.

What the armed forces need is therefore not "better" long-term planning of the traditional type but strategic thinking which provides a foundation for evaluations that are sufficiently governing. In that respect the round of planning before the most recent defense decision, for example OeB 80, was not a very successful final exam for the dynamic world of the 1980's.

Two things were advocated in that round of planning:

- 1) The increasing risk of surprise attacks. To be sure, that was an ambiguous concept, but it was interpreted by many as a reason for radical reevaluations within our system of preparedness and thus for forceful structural changes in the peacetime and wartime organizations.
- 2) The peacetime organization should be subjected to selective cuts, and that should take care of the economic crisis known at that time.

In both of these respects it rapidly turned out that the evaluations of the round of planning did not agree. The previous evaluation within the emergency preparedness system with emphasis on a strong defense against invasion, prepared for deployment immediately after mobilization, corresponds to what we need even in the 1980's in order to support the security policy--if it is supplemented by preparedness for increased capability to meet and control violations and other pressure and threats during formal peacetime. The indicated cuts were too small--it is now judged. It is not at all certain that previously proposed disbandings are the right thing in this new situation. The need for balancing the peacetime and wartime organizations warrants reevaluation.

Consequently, it was a good thing that in the parliamentary bill and in the defense decision the governing authorities were more restrained than the planners both as regards the rebalancing within the preparedness system and as regards the disbanding of units.

For it is not just a matter of economizing. Of primary concern is the clarification of what the remaining funds need to be used for.

To this end it is necessary to have a strategy for being able to grasp and control the interplay, the changes and the dynamics of what is happening in the rest of the world and in our own. It must yield an analysis, which is free from preconditions, for the preconditions for the activity. This is the instrument required for being able to clarify what is absolutely necessary and what can be dispensed with in the entire peacetime and wartime organization, from the highest level to the local one, and in the activity with respect to both the security-political demands and the economic realities.

This presumes strategic thinking which comprehends and dominates the play on several levels: 1) The event of war. 2) The present security-political situation with a potential military threat in the world around us, kept in check by balance conditions in which the Swedish defense also plays a role as a stabilizing factor. 3) The present situation and its opportunities for

maintaining and developing a production apparatus for wartime units and preparedness.

Here as well the preconditions are marked by changes, for the control of which a strategy and not merely planning concepts are needed. However, the most important thing is the capability to comprehend and control the connection between the various levels.

Otherwise the planners will keep on running on the treadmill of the vicious circle. It does not make things any better if Hans Lindblad runs before--or is it perhaps behind?--on the treadmill. The economic crisis may be so profound --an analysis will have to prove this--that there will be changes in the peacetime organization of the magnitude indicated by Hans Lindblad, but the measures will certainly be different from those proposed by him. The strategic questions about goals and preconditions must under all circumstances be resolved before the shuffling of figures begins, or else the intellectual crisis of the armed forces is far worse than its economic crisis--and that would, if anything, be devastating.

11949

CSO: 3650/63

COUNTRY INCREASING EXPORTS TO CHINA

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 23 Dec 83 p 21

[Article by Ole Walberg: "Danish Exports to China"]

[Text] Peking. An analysis of trade between the Nordic countries and China in 1983 shows that Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland were the best within the branches of trade where the four countries traditionally have each been the strongest.

The Danish foodstuffs industry has overtaken its foreign competitors on the Chinese market by using so-called mixed credits. That means that assistance resources are used to finance the Chinese imports. The Chinese are building B & W machines on license and are buying steam boilers from Alborg.

Norwegian firms are beginning to participate in the offshore sector off of China's coast. Sweden is investing in the energy and transportation sectors which have a high priority in China. Paper and wood pulp dominate Finnish exports to China.

Chinese exports to the Nordic countries consist largely of textiles, clothing and tools.

Trade representatives in the Nordic embassies in Peking agree that transfer of high technology and expertise to China will play an increasingly large role in coming years.

Based on OK's many years of involvement in the Orient, Denmark has more permanently stationed representatives in China than any other European country.

The Far East has been called the new center of gravity of international economy. Even though the greatest economic weight exists in the noncommunist ASEAN countries--Taiwan, South Korea and Hongkong--firms in all the Nordic countries are also looking toward the China market.

9287

CSO: 3613/65

VIETNAM SHIPYARD AID PROJECT ABSORBING EVER MORE FUNDS

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 18 Nov 83 p 11

[Text] The Pha Rung shipyard in Vietnam has swallowed practically all the funds for aid to developing countries that Finland has projected for Vietnam. The actual construction work began in 1979 and the shipyard will be finished next year. Thereafter the Finns are getting prepared to help during the starting period for several years. So far the Finnish funds used for the shipyard amounts to 170 million marks. If the expenses for the separate years would be converted into today's currency, the amount would be even larger.

The political wish to materialize the plan was so strong after the Vietnam war, that the financing plan was set up within a framework which the experts knew already then to be unrealistically narrow. The venture was planned carefully, but it was not possible to predict the economic difficulties that were awaiting Vietnam because of, among other things, the war in Cambodia. Finland became responsible for more than was expected.

In its report that still has not been made public, and that is being discussed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the State Auditor's office has paid attention to the fact that the bills from Vesto Oy that has contracted the construction work, have become expensive for the Finnish aid for developing countries. The Department for Development Cooperation admits that unreasonable amounts of tax money went into one pocket, because attention was not paid in time to the principles, by which the contractor charges for so-called general expenses.

Negotiations with the contractor to lower the costs have in this case not been successful, and quite a chaos was experienced within the shipyard venture when the TVH [National Road and Civil Engineering Board] began to send their own people on their own salaries to Vietnam.

9662

CSO: 3617/52

EAST GERMAN INTEREST IN GREEK PRODUCTS

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 30 Nov 83 p 7

[Text] The possibilities of the German Democratic Republic buying industrial products were discussed at a meeting of OPE [Organization for Exports Promotion] President Sp. Kharitos with the commercial attache at the GDR's embassy in Athens, Joachim Zibeke.

More specifically, in addition to agricultural products and textile products (ready-to-wear clothing, etc.), the German side expressed interest in shoes and other manufactured goods.

In particular, there was discussion of the possibility of collaborating with exporting cooperatives (shoes, knitted wear, ready-to-wear clothing, athletic items, etc.) which are already being activated in the frameworks of the special program for development of the cooperative institution. The program is being coordinated by OPE with the cooperation of the company Greek Exports, Inc.

During the meeting there was discussion of the issue of Greece participating in the Leipzig international fair and exhibiting specific industrial products which the German side is interested in buying. At the same time, there was discussion about organizing a trade mission to exploit the opportunities presented by a definite purchase for Greek products (agricultural and industrial).

As relates to the activities of the exporting cooperatives, it is noted that on 12 December a trade mission will depart for Moscow, with representatives of the shoe cooperative headed by the managing director of the company Greek Exports, Inc., K. Khrysopoulos, and A. Morokhliadis, member of the OPE Administrative Council.

9247

CSO: 3521/98

BRIEFS

ILLEGAL TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA--There has been a tremendous increase in Norwegian exports to South Africa during the first 9 months of 1983, according to a report in DAGEN. During this period, Norwegian industries exported products valued at more than 370 million kroner to South Africa, while sales for the same period last year totaled 225 million kroner, according to figures released by the Central Bureau of Statistics. This development is obviously contrary to several parliamentary resolutions to limit trade with the apartheid regime. Ministry of Commerce Undersecretary Arne Synnes told DAGEN that the ministry would look into the rapid growth in exports to South Africa. [Text] [Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 11 Nov 83 p 17] 8952

CSO: 3639/32

SEVERE CRISIS IN RELATIONS WITH GUINEA

Madrid ABC in Spanish 25 Nov 83 p 13

[Article by Alberto Miguez: "Government Does Not Know What to Do With Spanish Interests in Guinea"]

[Text] Relations between Spain and Guinea are "on the verge of collapse" and Spanish cooperation with the former colony is going through very unusual and difficult circumstances. Meanwhile, two tendencies within the government fight about the future of our presence in that country and the way to continue cooperation with the former colony.

For several months, the Spanish people in that country have not been paid. Their living conditions have been reduced to prehistoric levels; tapioca, snails and muskrat constitute the daily diet for many of them. Two doctors from INSALUD [expansion unknown] had to be sent home recently because of anemia. The stock of the only supermarket for our Spaniards is almost exhausted. Antimalarial medicine is needed and to get a kilo of meat requires taking a shotgun and hunting down anything that moves. The members of a delegation from the Bank of Spain who went to Malabo to evaluate the amount of the Spanish debt had to do just that.

Desperate Situation

The Ministry of Finance halted the delivery of funds for cooperation with Guinea after having cut them from 1.6 million to 1 million. The living conditions of our Spaniards there are inexpressible. The same thing happened recently with the 150 Guinean scholarship students residing in Spain. Their scholarships had not been paid for months and they had to organize several demonstrations to demand payment.

A number of very expensive Spanish projects have been handled scandalously. For example, the fuel tank for the port of Luba (formerly San Carlos), indispensable for the hypothetical presence of Spanish ships in those seas, has not been constructed in spite of the fact that it has already cost 300 million pesetas. One company, Matinsa, backed by the parastatal company Focoex unloaded material theoretically worth 300 million 3 years ago and then immediately suspended payments. The material remained outside for months until it was unusable and disappeared. In Luba they continue to wait for their tank.

Another scandalous affair is the famous water reservoir of Bata. The controversial engineering project placed the tanks so that the water must be elevated by pumps. It is always flooded when a nearby dam (constructed by the People's Republic of China) opens its gates. Since there is never enough fuel in Guinea, the water pumps do not function nor does it seem likely that they will function in the future.

Malabo is the only African capital--and perhaps only capital in the world--that does not have electrical lighting. The oil lamp has replaced the light bulb because the few electric generators lack fuel and do not operate or do so intermittently. The lack of oil has meant that the cacao harvest this year was the smallest of the 20th century in Guinea: 5,000 tons.

French "Savoir Faire"

In spite of this, the Guinea cacao--one of the best in the world--continues to attract those with a sweet tooth. The French ambassador in Malabo, Pierre Cornee, just purchased a beautiful cacao farm in a symbolic gesture that foretells other things. At the beginning of next year, France will assume the hegemonic role that our country did not want or did not know how to assume. The admission of Equatorial Guinea to the UDEAC [Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa] and later the BEAC [Bank of Central Africa] will convert Spain into a "third country" in the financial and commercial sectors.

Two Spanish-Guinean meetings will be held in Malabo between 7 and 12 December. The first will be to renegotiate the debt (more than \$40 million) and the second to design the "very constructive new phase" of cooperation, according to the official communique issued after President Obiang's visit to Madrid this summer. No one expects anything of these meetings, especially when no one even at the highest level knows "what to do with Guinea." There are two opposing lines in the Executive Branch: those who want to end the drain that Guinea represents economically as well as politically; and those who want to continue a modest and humanitarian cooperation that is controlled and planned. Reproaches and sometimes unprintable epithets are exchanged between these two lines.

7717

CSO: 3548/128

FINANCE MINISTER SUBMITS BILL ON AUDIT POWER

Madrid ABC in Spanish 25 Nov 83 p 56

[Text] (EFE)--The Ministry of Economy and Finance has finished the bill on auditing that will be sent to Congress in the coming months and submitted it to consulting professionals. It contains 25 articles, 1 additional provision, 2 temporary provisions and 1 final provision.

The text of the law which does not stipulate the entities that will be obliged to submit to audits regulates the practice of independent financial auditing, an activity that involves some 3,000 specialists now, for the first time in Spain.

After specifying that auditing will be governed by the provisions of this law, Article 2 defines the concept of financial auditing, calling it "independent" to distinguish it from the internal financial auditing of the entities themselves. The principles established in mercantile legislation and the general accounting plan are cited as basic principles, generally accepted in Spain.

The law makes annual independent financial auditing obligatory and extends this obligation to certain types of enterprises that, due to the need to publish clear and reliable information, must submit to an annual audit. This means basically those enterprises that attract funds from private savings.

Article 6 indicates that "companies whose stocks are quoted on the official stock market or markets, companies that issue public offers to attract savings, companies that attract funds through deposit contracts and all insurance and capitalization entities" must submit to an annual financial audit.

Articles 7 to 11 on professional practice establish the incompatibilities of those who hold management positions or are employees in auditing firms and the shareholders and partners of those enterprises. They also establish the independence and confidentiality of the auditor, stipulating circumstances that can affect those qualities.

Articles 12 to 16 on the auditor's report list the minimal considerations that must be included in the findings and introduce the following aspects, among others:

Submission to the laws and other provisions that regulate the presentation of financial statements, seeking greater uniformity; and

Consideration of the financial problems and viability with the objective of having the auditor make a greater commitment in his findings.

The financial statements will include the financial balance, gains and losses account, annual financing chart, attachments or explanatory notes for the annual accounts and any other financial information required by legal provisions or regulations.

According to Article 14, "the auditors, in the exercise of their functions, can obtain all the documents considered necessary for their work from the enterprises. Concealment, falsification of data or inducement to error by the administrators will incur the corresponding civil or penal responsibility based on existing legislation."

According to qualified economic sources, the bill is advanced since Article 15 requires the auditor to issue reports on consolidated financial statements in the case of groups of enterprises.

7777

CSO: 3548/128

BRIEFS

INCREASED COAL IMPORTS FROM POLAND--Beginning in 1984 Poland will again be the largest supplier of coal to Danish power plants. ELSAM has entered an agreement for delivery of large amounts of Polish coal. Poland was formerly the largest supplier to Denmark, but internal disturbances in Poland 3 years ago put a halt to Danish coal imports. [Text] [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 18 Dec 83 p 2] 9287

CSO: 3613/65

GOVERNMENT STUDY SUGGESTS REDUCING ROLE OF STATOIL

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 29 Nov 83 p 7

[Article by Roger Bergersen, Labor Party Press: "Committee Wants to Reduce Statoil"]

[Text] A government-appointed undersecretary committee has reached agreement regarding specific suggestions on how Statoil's role is to be reduced. The suggestions were discussed at a government conference on Monday and will be taken up again for new discussion later.

The undersecretary committee followed up and concretized a number of the most important elements of the so-called Mellbye Committee's proposal: Statoil's owner shares are to be limited and its freedom of action is to be reduced by the company's to a greater extent having to seek the advice of the authorities before major oil policy decisions are made.

A major portion of the cash flow, which, for one thing, comes from the big owner shares, is to be channeled directly to the national treasury. The committee is also opening the door for the State oil company's being given an opportunity to commit itself more abroad.

All three government parties are represented on the undersecretary committee, and the proposal is thus being characterized as a compromise. Neither the Conservative Party's nor the Mellbye Committee's positions are being pursued completely by the undersecretaries, it is being said from central in-between party quarters.

The undersecretaries' proposals are not being published before the government has discussed them further. The committee also intends to modify them still more as a result of the objections the cabinet ministers might have.

In the 3-man committee Eivind Reiten of the Center Party again probably backed most the plans to reduce Statoil's role. Hans Henrik Ramm of the Conservative Party represented the opposite wing--the Conservative Party showed eagerness for wing clipping to an extent that no one should be surprised if the party claims that the undersecretary committee did not go far enough.

The Christian People's Party's Arild Rødland, Oil and Energy Ministry undersecretary, himself spoke fervently of reducing Statoil's role, but from the party's ground level dissatisfaction with his and Cabinet Minister Kåre Kristiansen's treatment of the company has been expressed.

AIR, WATER, GROUND POLLUTION IN NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

Munich SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 10 Nov 83 p 11

[Article by Editorial Staff Member Martin Urban: "A Ruined FRG State"]

[Text] North Rhine Westphalia Faces a Catastrophe.
Air and Water Polluted, the Ground Ruined: Can
the Energy Center of the Republic Still Be Saved?

Duesseldorf, November--North Rhine-Westphalia the most densely populated state (city states excepted) and, to quote Minister President Johannes Rau, the "energy center of the federal republic," is at the same time also the most ruined federal state. To be sure, in the past 25 years billions of marks have been invested for the purpose of reducing the extent of the environmental destruction. On the whole, however, the environment-related problems have not become less, but they have become more "differentiated and manifold," according to a recently furnished state government situation report. At the same time, one of every ten individuals in the age bracket of gainful employment capability is unemployed. An economic structural crisis is reducing the financial possibilities for a self-cure.

Characteristic of the deterioration of the environment of this state, with its incisive consequences for water conservation and climate and thus for human well-being, is the sealing off of its soil. Unrestrained and disorganized growth in the once so rich FRG state has resulted in the fact that an average of 13 percent, and in the highly congested areas almost 27 percent of North Rhine Westphalia have been covered by concrete. Every year additional surfaces--a total of 75 square kilometers per year--are built over, each year creating 38.9 million tons of construction rubble and excavated dirt (28 percent of the figure for the Federal Republic).

The highway and railway network is disproportionately compact. With a 13.7 percent share of the federal republic's area (34,000 square kilometers of 248,000 square kilometers), North Rhine Westphalia has 21 percent of all federal railway lines, 17 percent of all federal highways, and even 23 percent of all federal autobahns.

Roads have in the meantime assumed functions which are less of a communications nature than one with slicing-up and destructive effects. According to a finding by the Batelle Institute, one million persons along the Rhine and Ruhr rivers are in addition to the exhaust gas pollution also exposed to a more than 70 decibel noise level in the daytime and to one that is above 60 decibels at night. They are consequently living in "noise stabilization areas." That was the term used in the traffic noise prevention draft law of the social-liberal federal government, which failed to get passed due to cost considerations.

Belated Priority for the Forests

The Land government in Duesseldorf believes that what has already been ascertained in 1978 for the entire FRG area (in a one-percent random sample), namely that only 29 percent of the residences are not subject to being bothered by street traffic noises, also applies to North Rhine-Westphalia. For this area, this is an optimistic assumption. The land government states today that the traffic noise, which is spreading both areawise and permanently, has contributed to a situation in which "the attractiveness of the cities as residential areas has been reduced and in which there has developed a decentralized settlement structure which produces additional traffic."

The fact that road construction--as is the case also elsewhere in the federal republic--has in the meantime become a matter of course is illustrated by the following figures furnished by the president of the State Institute for Ecology, Agricultural Development, and Forest Planning, Albert Schmidt: In the Rhineland, 4,000 persons are employed in road construction as their main occupation, and in Westphalia another 3,000 persons. 1,600 persons are employed in work related to the far-reaching destruction of nature in the spheres of agriculture and land reclamation, but only 300 men and women are employed in nature conservation work. The Land government makes the following admission:

"It has to an increasing extent been recognized that the Ruhr district's space and housing shortcomings are not only a consequence, but also a decisive cause of the economic and social problems of this congested area."

Basically, the agriculturally utilized area could balance out the highly industrialized congested center. After all, 57 percent of North Rhine Westphalia is farm land. But the intensification of agriculture--in addition to settlement and dispersed settlement practices--have been counteracting such a balancing function to an ever increasing extent. It was started in Duesseldorf that "this development has contributed to the fact that in North Rhine-Westphalia no less than 266 plant and animal categories are threatened with extinction."

There then remain only the forests, the "green lungs," for acting as a filter for the center of Germany's exhaust fume production by industry and traffic. Forests still cover 26 percent of this state. Of course, these forests are to an ever increasing extent in the process of being

eaten away, especially also by the land-devouring open-pit mining of the brown-coal deposits. It has been determined this fall that 35 percent of the wooded areas have already been damaged, which corresponds to a quadrupling of the extent or damage within a year. At some locations, the beech forests--a tree category which predominates in this state--already no longer regenerate themselves. No young trees are germinating any more from the seeds of the old trees.

Altogether, the way is thus prepared for a catastrophe to happen. Minister for Labor and Social Affairs Friedhelm Farthmann recently made the following statement to journalists from the FRG area who had been invited by the Land government to study an environmental problem: "The forests have priority over jobs." His associates say that he would not have made such a statement half a year ago. Johannes Rau, the chief of state, confirms that this postulate is binding for the state. But what will be its meaning in actual practice, for instance for energy policy?

The rich coal and iron deposits of this state have caused it to become an energy center. Power plants in North Rhine Westphalia are burning up 54 percent of the bituminous coal used for electric current generation in the federal republic and 86 percent of the brown coal. In this state, 47 percent or almost one-half of the electric power generation of the federal republic is produced, but only 37 percent is consumed there. Consequently, North Rhine-Westphalia Exports electric power to other states of the federal republic. This, of course, preserves jobs, but it is also a cause of the dying process of the forests. Rau, however, opposes the plans of his colleague Lothar Spaeth in Stuttgart, who pleads for electricity imports from France--in order to avoid environmental problems in his own state. Thus, are the forests really being given priority?

At the present time, the North Rhine-Westphalian power plants using bituminous and brown coal are annually blowing into the atmosphere 900,000 tons of sulfur dioxide (the brown-coal burning plants alone 360,000 tons), 500,000 tons of nitric oxides, and 100,000 tons of dust. For instance, only 10 percent of the capacities for public supply of bituminous-coal burning power plants have so far been outfitted with desulfurizing equipment. Seventy percent of the power plants are older than 10 years.

Of course, effecting electricity savings is the simplest way of reducing power plant exhaust gases--which is also an option available to the individual citizen. Germany's biggest electricity producer, the Rheinische-Westfaelische Elektrizitaetswerke (RWE) [Rhenish-Westphalian Electricity Works], but not it exclusively, meanwhile, is penalizing the electricity-saving customers on the basis of tariff agreements in which minimum consumption quotas are prescribed for citizens using cheap electric power. The RWE contract states that those who save electricity and use less of it must pay for the unused kilowatt hours "with 70 percent of the applicable labor cost."

The environmental policy of the Duesseldorf government is a source of astonishment for outsiders. In response to a special wish of the state, a council majority has provided for exceptional regulations (popularly referred to as "Lex RWE") in the large-scale firing equipment order governing brown-coal burning power plants. The sulfur dioxide concentration level in new installations must be reduced not to 400 but only to 650 milligrams per cubic meter of exhaust gasses. A reduction in the remaining utilization period of environment-polluting old power plants from 10 to 8 years was rejected by the Bundesrat majority along with the votes of North Rhine-Westphalia, as was a reduction of the dust emission volume to 30 milligrams per cubic meter.

Consequences of Open-Pit Brown Coal Mining

The Land government in Duesseldorf now expects the following: Within a decade, i.e. by 1983, the annual emission of sulfur dioxide will have been reduced to 320,000 tons (and thus by two-thirds), the emission of nitric oxides by only 100,000 tons (and thus by one-fifth), and the dust emission by 30,000 tons (barely one-third). Progressive brown-coal desulfurization ("wet") techniques are only now in the process of being tested. In the United States, one already does "wet" desulfurizing of brown coal (the sulfur content of which is somewhat more homogenous).

The example of Bergkamen shows how slowly progress finds its way into the power plants--progress which would be possible and which nonetheless, due to lax environmental regulations, is no more than a dream for the future. Here, STEAG (Bituminous Coal and Electricity AG[and VEW (United Electricity Works of North Rhine-Westphalia) are operating a modern bituminous-coal burning power station with an electrical 747 megawatt capacity in the first block. (On the 400,000 volt line, 5 megawatts are lost already on the way to the next switching station located at a distance of 40 kilometers). The installation has been operating since the summer of 1981. Here, 2 million cubic meters of fumes are blown through the chimney per hour. In addition, 1,200 cubic meters of water per hour are evaporating via a cooling tower.

Up to now, the fumes are, through compliance with applicable legal requirements, desulfurized only partially and, at any rate, "wet" and not merely "dry"--so that there are still 1,400 milligrams of sulfur dioxide in each cubic meter of exhaust fumes which sour the environment. The emissions are to be reduced to 400 milligrams only as of 1988. By means of adding lime and water, the sulfur dioxide will be processed to become gypsum.

Dust reduction with electric filters down to a level of 20 milligrams per cubic meter is excellent. This at the same time shows the technical level of today and how far removed from it the large-scale firing installations regulation is today. It will in the future still permit a 50-milligram dust load. It is planned that in the course of the next half year the nitric oxide level in Bergkamen will be reduced to 800 milligrams per cubic meter.

In the highly subsidized sphere of bituminous coal mining one currently produces--and this is a continuous subject of political discussion--much more coal than is needed. The consequence of this is as follows: This fuel is piling up in coal heaps. As is demonstrated today, the "oil crisis" in the early 1970s has provoked a premature opening up of new deposits which it is today scarcely possible to slow down. Kalus Schucht, the spokesman for the executive board of Bergbau A.G. Westfalen, admits that the surplus capacities of today were created precisely by this development.

Truly incisive for this state is the brown-coal pit mining situation. The Rhenish brown coal deposits, the biggest continuous deposit area of Europe, extends over 2,500 square kilometers in the Cologne-Moenchengladbach-Aachen area. Because one must to an increasing extent resort to deeper-lying coal, the proportion of coal to waste is becoming ever more unfavorable. While at the present time it is still 1 to 3, it will in the foreseeable future deteriorate to a rate of 1 to 6. To be sure, reclamation of large areas of what at first had fallen victim to open-pit mining is being carried out and, in some instances, in an exemplary manner. But this also includes valuable wooded areas. Schmidt, the president of the state institute of ecology, no longer considers it to be an adequate measure to replace an old forest by means of afforestation at another location. If the ecological function is to be preserved, he said, one must in each instance replace each old tree with many young plants. The protection of nature calls for more than the mining industry is willing to give.

Fresh Water Concerns

No less a problem for the environment are the consequences of underground mining for bituminous coal. Here, too, more and more unproductive rock is yielded. In 1980 alone the latter amounted to 62 million tons, tantamount to almost one-half of the entire raw coal yield. Only a small part of it can be placed in pits, while more than two-thirds of it are piled up in heaps. Approximately 40 million tons are added each year. In this way the landscape is to a considerable extent being used up. In addition, chlorides and sulphates are being washed out of the heaps and are polluting the underground water. Let it be noted in passing that North Rhine-Westphalia discharges 37 percent of the production-related waste products of the trades and industries of the FRG, amounting to 23.5 million tons annually in 1980. This in turn results in further water, air, and soil pollution.

It is possible that fresh water could become an item in short supply in North Rhine-Westphalia in the foreseeable future. The dying process of the forests is going to accelerate this development considerably. Only one-third (35 percent) of the public water network is being fed by underground water. 38 percent comes from river-bank filtrates, and 17 percent from surface water (dams). 75 percent of the underground water sources opened up by industry is being drawn for the purpose of exploiting deposits.

The lowering of the subsoil water level over large areas is a prerequisite particularly for the working of brown-coal fields, which is an encroachment from which nature will not recover for many decades to come.

Three and one-half million people living in North Rhine-Westphalia alone are getting their drinking water from the Rhine in the form of so-called river-bank filtrate. Its raw pollution level is reduced, whereby the waste water assessment law is producing a beneficial effect. It is a model for an air pollution assessment law which has to date been demanded unsuccessfully by the Land governments in Duesseldorf and Wiesbaden.

Dietrich Rachay, the president of the Land office for water and waste materials, has had the experience that precisely because of the waste water assessments, the individual industrial enterprises are making considerably greater efforts to hold back harmful materials, or even to prevent them from coming into being in the first place, than has hitherto been the case. The extent of such willingness to cooperate varies, however, he said. Classifying the water bodies according to quality categories in which many rivers gradually become cleaner is somewhat misleading. For the problem of the particularly persistent chemicals, i.e., those chemicals which it is hardly possible to break down such as, perhaps, chloride hydrocarbons, is not taken into consideration in this connection. Still, the number of animal and plant categories on the Rhine has been on the rise again since the middle of the 1970s.

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NEW INDUSTRY SEEN AS ATTIKI POLLUTION HAZARD

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 24 Nov 83 p 7

[Text] In a query which concerns the ministers of national economy, energy and natural resources and YKhOP [Ministry of Zoning, Housing and Environment], the new regulations, according to which the establishment and installation of new industries in the Attiki basin area is allowed, are being called an absurdity by New Democracy deputies (M. Evert, I. Vougiouklakis, A. Andrianopoulos, D. Vrettakis, A. Kratsas, A. Krikos, A. Papadongonas, K. Paparrigopoulos, P. Sarlis, K. Sapsalis, A. Synodinou, T. Tzannetakis and A. Tsaldaris).

The questioning deputies report the following specifically: "The new regulations allow for the establishment and installation of new enterprises in the Attiki basin, Salamis and Aegina, a thing which was prohibited with the regulations made by New Democracy governments. This fact will significantly harm the wider area of Athens, will have important effects on the further polluting of the environment which, due to the lack of specific measures in the last two years, has worsened significantly, and, finally, will lead to a further concentration of businesses and population in an already over-saturated area.

"The absurdity lies in the fact that while installation of new industrial units is allowed for unknown reasons, at the same time modernization of already existing ones is forbidden.

"Expediency and installation permits which had been abolished long ago by New Democracy governments are being restored, thus further strengthening the bureaucracy and burdening mainly handicrafts with huge sums for carrying out research, plans, etc. by them for the issuing of permits.

"The government is doing all these at the moment it ought to proceed in implementing the decisions made by the New Democracy governments for reestablishing the fertilizer factory, cement factory and distillery away from the Piraeus area and outside of Attiki, and thus aggravation of the area's environment would be drastically reduced by stopping their operation.

"There is complete silence on this matter."

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REHABILITATION STEPS FOR POLLUTED AMVRAKIKOS GULF

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 25 Nov 83 p 7

[Text] "The immediate and absolute need to ecologically protect Amvrakikos Gulf which is constantly being polluted and downgraded by sewage and other substances which are being created in it" was noted in a conference which took place at the Ministry of Agriculture.

At the conference--at which were present Deputy Minister of Agriculture P. Katsaros, Deputy Minister of Finance P. Tsovolas, deputies, mayors and community presidents--financing of the project to ecologically protect and clean up the rivers which flow into Amvrakikos Gulf was proposed. Also proposed was the financing of works to protect the gulf from sewage, drainage, chemicals and other polluting and destructive substances.

A proposal was then made for developing the Amvrakikos for fishing. It was pointed out at the beginning by all the professionals that the studies which have been done up to now "are not complete and occurred under the pressure of producing a huge quantity of fish catches, without such a technological possibility existing and without environmental and other problems being taken into consideration."

The thought which prevailed was for a general plan for development of the Amvrakikos to be made, but to allow partial water-farming by any agencies, particularly the fishing cooperatives, municipalities and communities in the area.

A decision was also made to improve the conditions of fish-preserve fishing and open open-sea fishing which will occur in the frameworks of legislation which is about to be enacted. Also decided were: improvement and modernization of existing fish-preserves, with a main goal of preserving the spawn and protecting it from destruction; creation of small special model demonstrating units; and establishment of fish-breeding stations.

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ANNOUNCEMENT OF ATHENS ANTI-POLLUTION MEASURES

Athens TA NEA in Greek 14 Oct 83 p 5

[Text] New, more thorough and specific measures to battle pollution in the Athens area are beginning on 1 November. These measures, entitled "war on smoke and dirt," were announced yesterday by PERPA [Athens Pollution and Environment Control Program] and are a product of the first phase of the studies conducted by PERPA and other agencies to deal with the cloud over the capital.

These measures will be readjusted as the studies proceed (every three months); they concern industry, automobiles, burners, central heating, etc. In this phase the main goal is to decrease emissions of smoke and dust, but also other pollutants.

The measures are the following:

Industry: For smoke:

1. Inspection of industries by mobile teams from YKhOP [Ministry of Zoning, Housing and Environment] (KEPPE [expansion unknown] for industry with representatives from TA [Insurance Fund]) which will patrol daily in the Athens basin and the Thriasian Plain. The teams inspect: a. smoke emissions from every source (industry-large buildings-open fires, etc.); b. dust emissions from every source and c. odor emissions. A verification of violations and suggestion to YPETHO [Ministry of National Economy] for imposition of related sanctions are made.

Inspection

2. Establishment of regular periodic inspection of industries, based on a schedule. This inspection includes an examination of the existing installations for environmental protection and any apparatuses to automatically measure pollutants, calibration of these apparatuses, examination of the operating permit (duration-expiration-imposed conditions- time-limits, etc.), measuring sound levels, etc. Verification of compliance and suggestion for imposition of sanctions which extend to revoking the operating permit.

3. Establishment of the obligation to equip boiler-rooms with simple apparatuses to measure operating standards and concentrations of pollutants in exhaust gases. The measure is to be implemented in boiler-rooms with a nominal boiler power greater than 400,000 KCAL per hour.

The apparatuses are:

- a. Permanently installed thermometers to measure temperatures on the outlet for exhaust gases and on the tank of fuel consumed daily and of fuel before the burner.
- b. Devices to measure contents of exhaust gases in carbon dioxide, carbon monoxide, nitric oxide, sulfur dioxide, as well as soot by Bacharach (in order to control elements like the proportion of fuel to air, fuel quality, etc.).

The industries must procure the apparatuses referred to, and the stokers must become acquainted with their operation, within three months. In large industrial units, additional measures for control and regulation of combustion are maintained according to each case.

4. Establishment of compulsory measurements of operating standards and concentration of pollutants in exhaust gases from industrial boilers and maintenance of a record-book. Those responsible for operation of boilers with a nominal power over 400,000 KCAL per hour are obliged to make regular measurements of parameters relating to the above and to systematically record them in a book examined by the YKHOP services.

The compulsory measurements are: a. contents of exhaust gases in carbon dioxide (percentage); b. contents of exhaust gases in soot (smoke) by Bacharach; c. temperature of exhaust gases; d. temperature of fuel in the tank for daily consumption and final temperature before the burner; e. contents of exhaust gases in carbon monoxide, sulfur dioxide and nitric oxide.

5. Establishment of compulsory gradual starting of boilers. The time for the morning preliminary heating of steam generators must range from 30 to 60 minutes according to case. This measure must be in force within two months for boilers with a nominal power of more than 400,000 KCAL per hour.

6. Establishment of conditions for exhaust gases from boilers. For dust:

- a. Storage of fine-grained solid materials in open areas is prohibited.
- b. Permanent equipment for soaking materials which are stored in open areas, equipped with a system of automation to put the equipment into operation according to weather conditions.
- c. Covering areas, by erecting buildings, in units where solid materials are moved or processed.
- d. Covering surfaces of cargo during transport in bulk of raw materials or products.
- e. Cementing and regular cleaning of open industrial areas, with an obligation to supply the appropriate equipment.
- f. Covering belts conveying material which emits dust.

g. Immediate repair of damages in those equipment which, because of damage, are contributing to the emission of dust (for example, filters, pipes, etc.). If this is not possible, stopping the related section of the installation.

h. Removal, at very frequent intervals, of solid dusty refuse (where they exist).

Exemption

i. Establishment of dust-removal equipment with a high performance in controlling dust in those industrial units, in Charts 3 and 4 of Article 4 of PD [Presidential Decree] 1180/81, which create pollution with particles in the atmosphere. Exempted from this condition are those units being set up within a period of three years. Planning of these installations is occurring on the basis of specifications of the YKhOP services and is authorized by the qualified services which grant permits for establishment or operation.

j. A seminar to acquaint technicians in industry about issues related to planning, operation and maintenance of dust-removal equipment.

k. Circulation of an informational pamphlet about the sources of dust and the measures to deal with it.

l. Spraying of dirt roads by the municipalities. The purchase of 108 water-tank trucks for spraying has already been decided.

m. Tree planting by the municipalities and communities. Also, measures to educate officials and regulations for the "environmental standards of operating facilities" are being enacted.

Automobiles: The restriction of every kind of emissions from automobiles is deemed absolutely necessary. The measures are:

Inspection of cars as concerns emissions of carbon monoxide for gas-powered cars and soot for diesel-powered cars. It is suggested the inspection occur outside of engine maintenance and adjustment workshops. On all cars coming out of the engine adjustment and maintenance workshops, it is necessary for the concentration of carbon monoxide in the exhaust to be within the limits of the manufacturer (specifications). Responsibilities for observed deviations belong to those in charge at the workshops.

Proof

Spot-checks on the road: The drivers must have proof from a workshop that there has been an adjustment-maintenance within the last six months at the latest and the rate of concentration of carbon monoxide in the exhaust must be reported. If he does not have proof, the driver bears the responsibilities when the rate of carbon monoxide is greater than the limit.

As concerns liquid petroleum gas for cars, it was said that it is desirable and will have a very favorable result, but the issue has not been studied sufficiently yet.

In a case in which the concentration of carbon monoxide is outside the limits and there has been an adjustment, which is shown by the proof, a time limit is given to the driver for readjustment. This is considered advisable because in a small percentage it is possible for adjustment to be reversed because of the quality of the fuel, traffic conditions, manner of driving, etc.

Adjustment and maintenance of EAS [Urban Communications Enterprise] buses must occur every 20,000 to 25,000 kilometers and will include inspection of the engine's compression and the necessary work when it is low and inspection and adjustment of the fuel supply and injection system. Inspection of EAS buses will occur on the road and in coach houses.

Fuels

There is a feasible way of checking the quality of fuels, and activation of the mechanism for inspection (KEPPE) is necessary for the best implementation of the measure. The use of alternate, more gentle fuels will seriously decrease pollution in Athens.

Quality of fuels:

1. Inspection of quality of fuels by KEPPE (for fuels). Particular emphasis is given to industrial fuels.
2. Cargoes of fuels to industries will be accompanied by a ticket on which is recorded the viscosities of the transported fuel. The responsibility for issuing the ticket belongs to the company marketing petroleum products.

Liquid Gas:

1. Connection of certain industries to the DEFA [Athens Public Gas Corporation] network for use of city gas.
2. Use of liquified petroleum gas in taxis in Athens.

Central Heating:

1. Use of any other fuel than diesel fuel in central heating systems is prohibited.
2. Installation of smoke eliminators on new and old central heating facilities is prohibited.
3. Smoke eliminators which are being used in central heating facilities are to be ripped out. Restoration of the chimney in those cases is done on the basis of instructions issued by YKhOP.
4. Enactment of an internal efficiency for the boiler-burner system and of a maximum allowable rate for the soot indicator, analogous to the type of building as well as the size and age of the central heating facility.

5. A program to enlighten the public on the advisability of maintenance and correct adjustment of central heating installations is being implemented by distributing printed material, showing films on television and other similar activities. Participation of the TA, residential councils and neighborhood city-planning committees in giving further information must be decisive.

6. Monitoring of the efficient operation of central heating installations by inspection echelons from YKhOP (KEPPE) is established.

7. Inspection of the quality and specifications of every type of boiler and burner imported from abroad or produced domestically in order to grant a "certificate of quality" is established. The details for the inspection organization are defined legislatively.

8. Imposition of sanctions on violaters.

Training of maintenance people for central heating burners and boilers will be done by OAED [Labor Force Employment Organization]. A third-degree education for the specialty of heating and air conditioning-ventilation technologist is established.

Chart Showing the Yearly Emissions of Pollutants In Tons

	Particles	Carbon Monoxide	Hydrocarbons	Nitric Oxide	Sulfur Dioxide
Traffic	4,000	200,000	25,000	25,000	3,000
Heating	600	250	150	1,000	2,700
Industry-Combustion	1,500	500	4,500	8,000	15,000
Industry	1,800	2,500	20,000	-	-
Movement of Fuels	-	-	5,000	-	-
Total	7,900	203,250	54,650	34,000	20,700

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